

# *My Twelve Years in Parliament*



by  
**N. Srirama Reddy Yadav**



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“Success often goes to those who dare and act.  
It seldom goes to the timid.”



# My Twelve Years in Parliament

by  
*N. Srirama Reddy*

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	<b>FAREWELL TO PARLIAMENT</b>	



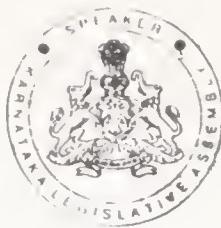
This book is dedicated to  
**Dr. Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy**  
(*former President of India*)  
my Friend, Philosopher & Guide

of National Life Insurance  
Company of New York  
(Formerly American Mutual)  
and the First National Bank





S. M. KRISHNA  
SPEAKER



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## FOREWORD

Neelakantapuram in Andhra Pradesh may not be very far from Bangalore in Karnataka. Yet, the rustic village lad SriRamaReddy did take considerable time to traverse this distance and to find his moorings. From then on his has been a saga of success after success culminating with his distinguished career as a Member of the Rajya Sabha. This nonagenarian progressive farmer, social worker, hotelier, dairyman and politician, a product of pre-independent India has imbibed all resplendent virtues that was a trait of his times. He has zealously inched his way from the grass-root level to the greacy heights of attainment at the national level.

Sucked into the whirlpool of Freedom Movement at a tender age, Shri Reddy came under the magical spell of the indomitable Mahatma Gandhi and suffered imprisonment with honour. Little did he realise then that he would one day find himself in the Parliament, sitting with some of the all time greats of India. Shri Reddy's extensive travel at home and abroad coming in direct contact with Leaders of various hues and shades has helped him gain first hand knowledge of the ways of the humankind and systems of governance. But what is more important and pertinent in him is his keen sense of appreciation, a flaire for learning and an analytical mind that is consistent. It is this trait that has motivated SriRamaReddy who is in the evening of his life to reduce his impressions into black and white for posterity. If it reads here and there like a compendium of events, it

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deserves to be overlooked since the author is not a professional writer.

This work provides us with glimpses of our Constitution, his entry into the political arena, chinese aggression which shook the nation's confidence as never before, the ups and downs of our Foreign Policy, Kamaraj Plan which jettisoned quite a few political heavy weights although for a brief spell, end of the era of Nehru, that charismatic mesmariser who placed the interest of the nation and its people above everything else, the prangs of border dispute and pakistani aggression which unwittingly proved the mettle of the nation besides boosting our morale, Lal Bhaddur Shastry's brief but refreshingly invigorating spell as Prime Minister tragically cut short by his sudden demise, the emergence of Indira Gandhi on the national scene as Prime Minister with her bold and imaginative leadership, the inevitable devaluation of the rupee and its repercussions on the nation's economy, the travails, turbulations and attainments of Five Year Plans, the outright rejection of the sinisterous offer of Nuclear Umbrella, the great congress split culminating with parting of ways by many - a stalwarts who had toiled together for long, and last but certainly not the least, prohibition of the Bigamous Marriage Bill introduced by SriReddy himself eliciting a lively debate in and outside the Parliament.

SriRamaReddy's musings and his style of scribing are certainly not meant to please the powers that be. It

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is a greatful Reddy's burning flaire to lay bare before the nation, the quite but cogent efforts of his as a debt of gratitude for the trust and confidence reposed in him by the people. I compliment SriReddy for doing this in an indomitable style of his own.



Bangalore

S.M.KRISHNA

SPEAKER

December 5, 1990.

KARNATAKA LEGISLATIVE  
ASSEMBLY, BANGALORE.



## Acknowledgements

My entry into Parliament in 1960 started with a great commotion regarding the India's border Scuffle with China, who claimed extensive areas like AKSAI - Chin and other areas. It is at this stage that the Prime Minister of China, Chou-en-lai Visited India. I was one of those who welcomed the Prime Minister at the airport with a request to restore the ancient friendship between our two Countries. Bangalore welcomed the Prime Minister with "HINDI - CHINI BHAI-BHAI". However, what was only a scuffle entered into a war with China.

It was destiny that made me the Convenor of the external affairs Committee under the Prime Minister Nehru where I had to play my little part with the exit of V K Krishna Menon from the Defence Ministry. Such events prompted me to make notes throughout my twelve years which have been expanded into this book.

I am grateful to the eminent Prof. Dr. G.N. Sharma of DAV College Aurangabad, who guided me in my attempt to write this book. I am highly grateful to Shri. S.M. Krishna, Speaker, Legislative Assembly, Karnataka, who in spite of his heavy Schedule of work, went through the book patiently and has given a very handsome Foreword. I was lucky in finding Shri. M.V. Ranga Char, Retired Prof. of Education who willingly read the copy of the book, brought it to the final form and got it typed with the help of Smt. Vani Murthy. I am thankful both to the Professor and Smt. Vani Murthy. My thanks are due to Shri. M.V. Sridhar who, lying in bed offered various useful suggestions which improved the book in several aspects. Last but not least, I owe a debt of gratitude to Shri. Shivashankar who culled out matter from my hand written notes and typed it burning midnight oil.

I should add a special word of thanks to W.Q. Judge Press, Bangalore for Printing the book so neatly and well in time.

Bangalore  
7.1991

*N. Srirama Reddy*

## PREFACE

This is not an autobiography. It is just a recollection of events of National Interest and importance as reflected in Parliament during the period of my tenure as member of Parliament – Rajya Sabha.

The office I held as Executive Member of the Congress Party in Parliament between 1962 and 1969 and convenor of the Standing Committee of the External Affairs Ministry headed by the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru during critical year of 1962 and also as Secretary of Congress Party in Parliament during Sri. Lal Bahadur Shastray's and Smt. Indira Gandhi's Prime Ministership, gave me the opportunity to raise what I considered to be important issues in matters of Political, economic, social and administrative importance.

During my twelve year tenure as a member of Rajya Sabha, I had the opportunity of collecting considerable material relating to public issues like-Debates in parliament, public opinion as expressed in dailies and periodicals, Govt. publications, my own correspondence with the Prime Ministers and other Ministers, files relating to my work as leader of the parliamentary delegation to the International Seminar on Agricultural Production at Berlin, as a member of a goodwill mission to Jammu and Kashmir during the Indo-Pakistan war of 1965, as a member of the parliamentary delegation to Australia, as an invitee to Japan and East Germany and as leader of a study team on public undertakings in Eastern India. This material provides a background to my account of this book.

Parliament in INDia is the supreme legislative body. The Government formed by the majority party in parliament rules the country with a cabinet of ministers who are entirely responsible for the legislature. The cabinet is headed by Prime Minister and functions on the basis of collective responsibility. Therefore any citizen, more so a member of parliament, can take up any matter with any minister of the cabinet or even with the Prime Minister. This is the duty of a parliament member as a representative of the people and as the guardian and promoter of public good.

Politics is a game of competing and contending ideas and interests and the final truth cannot be claimed by any party. It is therefore imperative that diverse opinions be allowed free and full expression. While concern for truth should be paramount, the attitude of finality should be scrupulously avoided. The views and opinions expressed here can claim honesty but not finality. While they are expressed with a certain degree of emphasis they are offered in a spirit of tentativeness and humility.

It is hoped that this account provides an inside view of the working of Parliament and of the party system of Government in India and on the role of Member of parliament in the discharge of public duties.

Bangalore  
.7.1991

N. Sree Rama Reddy

## ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Born in a poor peasant family in Neelakantapuram a remote village in Andhra Pradesh, right on the border of Karnataka, on October 6th 1906. Passed the Lower Secondary in Koratagere Tumkur (dt)- Educated in the Municipal High School, Hindupur - passed the Intermediate Science Examination from the Government Arts College, Anantapur, and B.Sc. Agriculture from the Madras Agricultural College, Coimbatore winning Gold Medal in Agriculture.

Returned to Neelakantapuram the author's native place in 1933. Economic depression was raging in the country, unemployment had gripped the country. Possibility of getting an employment in the Agriculture Department was far remote. All the same the author's father who had earned a little appreciation from Shri. N. Gopala Swamy Iyengar who was Collector suggested to the author to write a letter to Shri. N. Gopala Swamy Iyengar who was then Secretary P.W.D. in the Madras Government reminding him of the author's father's humble intimacy with him, seeking his blessings for employment in the Government. So the author did. The author stuck to his land in spite of great depression. What he author had done was a great risk. Shri. N. Gopala Swamy Iyengar was pleased to acknowledge the author's letter and an encouraging reply came. The author has pleasure to quote below his letter which has been preserved as a great treasure.

Madras  
1st April 1937.

Dear Sri Rama Reddy,

" I am sure, however, you have done the right thing in getting back to your ancestral lands, and I have no doubt with your knowledge in Agriculture you will be able to make your land yield probably more than what you would have earned as pay in the Agricultural service. That itself, I think, will be real service to the country.

Yours sincerely,  
sd/-



"I love my country."



The pleasure of the author is this great prophecy has come true.

The author turned his ancestral Farm into a "MODEL FARM", Modernising Agriculture and introducing "CROSS BREEDING OF LOCAL COWS" with Foreign Bulls for maximisation of milk production, introducing Foreign Pig breeding along poultry farming as subsidiary industries to agriculture. This scheme of work was the author's "FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN" for family development, which had been adopted and worked to fair success until 1938. This scheme was followed by quite a number of farmers in and around his village. Introduced Joint farming with 10 members from the village as members.

On successful completion of his FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN" he started the Second Plan in 1938 by which time he was already a Member of Congress Party. Entering Co-operative field, he was elected President of Village Co-operative Society which was worked with some amount of success.

Interest in political life was taken up more seriously in keeping with Tempo of the country. The author was elected Secretary of the District Congress Committee, Anantapur and also as President of District Congress Youth League. By this time the congress leaders like Shriyuthas Kallur Subba Rao, Pappu Rama Charlu and Neelam Sanjeeva Reddy and a few others became the top most leaders in congress. The enthusiasm of the youth of the district came under the influence of congress. The Justice Party under the leadership of old generation paled into insignificance. The youth of the district captured the district board by winning 90% of the elections. This gave philip to the tempo of politics in the district.

The district youth league of which the author was the President organised and conducted a summer school of politics for giving training to the youth of the district. With the outbreak of war in 1939 undertook congress organisation work in the district and participated in Mahatma Gandhi's individual satyagraha movement and suffered imprisonment in 1941.

On release from jail the author's attention was directed towards his SECOND FIVE YEAR PLAN" of family development. Both cows and pigs assumed a size and their product increased to a marketable level. Marketing of his farm products like milk and pigs became a serious problem. A study of the marketing problems of these surpluses was undertaken. Milk being a perishable commodity, was either to be consumed or to be thrown into gutter. The author approached the superintendent of the then Imperial Dairy Research Institute, Bangalore for help to sell the milk produced in the farm for which the reply was as follows.

Grams: "CIVDAIRY"

Telephone: 139.

No.9/8/37

Government of India,  
IMPERIAL DAIRY DEPARTMENT

Office of Imperial Dairy Institute  
Bangalore, dated 15.1.1937

To,

Mr. Sri Rama Reddy B.Sc., (Ag)  
The Model Farm House  
Nilakantapuram,  
Madakasira PO.,  
Anantapur Dt.

Dear Sir,

Ref:- Your letter of 12.1.1937

While appreciation the good work you are undertaking for the ryots, I very much regret that I do not require Milk or Cream for the ryots, I very much regret that I do not require Milk or Cream for the use of this Institute.

Yours faithfully  
Sd/-

SUPERINTENDENT

Another difficulty faced was the sale of berkshire Pigs which had been developed in the farm. As the time went on the burden of keeping the pigs was increasing. The author made hectic efforts to find a market for pigs. The following two letters received in reply from, Ceylon's representatives in India, speak of the author's efforts to sell pigs, one of the important products of the farm.

Office of the Ceylon Trade Commissioner  
for India,  
Ceylon House, Bruce Street,  
Bombay.

12th January, 1944.

Dear Sir,

### Pigs

I have to inquire whether you are in a position to supply pigs of good quality for export to Ceylon. If your reply is in the affirmative, I shall be glad to have full particulars with rates etc. at any early date.

Yours faithfully

Sd/-

Ceylon Trade Commissioner of India

Telegrams: "CEYLONCOM"

Scindia House,  
Queensway, New Delhi

Telephone: Commissioner: 7377  
Asst. Commr: 7235

Ref No. DM26.

9th September 1944

M/s. Sri. Rama Reddy  
No.66, Gandhinagar,  
Bangalore

Dear Sir,

### Live Pigs

I understand that you deal in Live Pigs and shall be glad to have your quotations for the different classes of pigs you can supply. I would also like to know the number of pigs you can supply monthly and the duration for which you can maintain a continuous supply.

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully

Sd/-

Commissioner  
Ceylon Government Supplies

It so happened that the then Defence Department of India came to my rescue and purchased the entire pigs of the farm satisfied as they were that the stock of pigs were Berkshire Pigs. Thus a part of the marketing problem was solved.

The problem of Marketing Milk remained unsolved. The author knew the Dairymen's proverb- "Sell Milk, if you can't sell milk, sell curds - If you cannot sell curds, sell butter-if you cannot sell butter, sell Ghee'. This is the miserable position the dairymen will be drawn into if he cannot sell milk. The author was in this position.

The author's survey showed that Bangalore was the only place that offered good market for milk.

Sri. M. Muni Venkatappa, a rich relative of the author offered land to settle cows in Bangalore. The author ventured to shift the dairy to Bangalore and settled there under the name MODEL DAIRY FARM". 7th July 1943 was the first day the author sold 10 pounds of milk produced in the Model dairy Farm to India Coffee Bar run by Indian Coffee Board. Thus Indian Coffee Board became the author's first purchaser. Gradually but steadily the Model Dairy Farm grew. In the meanwhile a group of dairymen were persuaded to form and establish the "MYSORE DAIRYMEN' ASSOCIATION" of which the author became founding President in which position the author continues till to-day.

Cross breeding of the local cows with famous exotic bulls of great potentiality for milk yield was the policy adopted by the Association. This policy was rapidly adopted by Bangalore Dairymen. it grew so fast that buffalo which was the only dairy animal was replaced with cross bred cows. This policy became so popular that within a decade a morphosis of dairy farming took place. The author on his own undertook a travel to Holand and Denmark to study their dairy farming methods and collection and processing. After a stay of six months in those countries he bought and brought a full compliment of a small pasteurisation plant and established it in Bangalore. This was the first pasteurisation plant established in Bangalore for the first time in its great history of centuries. The policy is ever continuing till today. It will be no exaggeration to say that milk is flowing in Bangalore and around in the milk shed area.

What is more a new cow that has come into existence now called "BANGALORE COW" is the welcome innovation. The UNICEF Dairy Committee that toured most of the cities of India with a view to gift a pasteurisation plant found Bangalore the best and has established a full scale pasteurisation plant. Without this plant the fast growing Bangalore would have been put to great difficulties with regard to milk supply.

But it was author's good fortune that his was the first pasteurisation plant in Bangalore and found favour with HAL

who encouraged the author by placing their order for their requirement of milk. This having achieved, the fear of surplus milk did not stop haunting the author. He launched on opening milk bars which became very popular with the people. Yet the fear of surplus milk was haunting. So the next step was to open a hotel where milk could be used. Thus as much fortification as possible was made against the surplus milk as and when it ever happened. In the construction of the hotel also an innovation was introduced. The author was the first in Bangalore city to construct a multistoreyed building and again a first to provide in it a cellar floor. This hotel is going on with a fair amount of success (MOTI MAHAL). A time came when the problem of surplus milk arose to the author in 1972 when HAL factory found a supplier of milk in the Government Dairy which had established itself in a large scale. Though,, as a result, the dairy activities had to be reduced, the dairy has not been closed and the hopes that it will continue as long as the Hotel, Moti-Mahal continues.

Thus it would not be a pride if the author claims that he was the first in this great city of Bangalore to have established a pasteurisation plant, a multistoreyed hotel having a cellar floor, which became a forerunner for many others to follow on.

## TRANSFER OF POWER

(Personal Embarrassment of a Rebel)

At the viceroy House at 11 A.M., on 2 September 1946, on the installation of the interim government, an acute personal embarrassment awaited Nehru. He had to affirm allegiance to King George VI, Emperor of India and also to affirm that he would well and truly serve " our Sovereign." Nehru was suddenly confronted with these. He had no choice. He suppressed his embarrassment and extreme annoyance and went through the affirmation of allegiance and affirmation of office which he read as follows :

I, Jawaharlal Nehru, do solemnly affirm that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty, KING GEORGE THE SIXTH, Emperor of India, His Heirs, and Successors, according to law.

I Jawaharlal Nehru, do solemnly affirm that I will, well and truly serve our Sovereign, KING GEORGE THE SIXTH, Emperor of India, in the office of Member of the Governor General's Executive Council, and that I will do right to all manner of people after the laws and usages of India without fear or favour, affection or ill-will.

Keeping with the above allegiance, he soon found that his communications to the King had to be in third person and in the form of "humble duty submissions."

A sample of a letter addressed to the King of England is given hereunder.

PRIME MINISTER,  
INDIA

New Delhi,  
28th April 1948.

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU presents his humble duty to Your Majesty and has the honour to submit, for Your Majesty's approval, the proposal of Your Majesty's Ministers in the Dominion of India that Sri Chakravarty Rajagopalachari, Governor of West Bengal, be appointed to be the Governor General of India on the demission of that Office by His Excellency Rear Admiral the Earl Mountbatten of Burma, K.G., P.C., G.M.I.E., G.C.V.O., K.C.B., D.S.O.

(sd) Jawaharlal Nehru.

PRIME MINISTER  
OF THE DOMINION OF INDIA.

## **THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE CONSTITUTION.**

Every Constitution has a philosophy of its own. So is ours. It is the objective resolution of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru that inspired the nation and the Constituent Assembly of India adopted that resolution on January 1947, and it runs as:-

1. The constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an independent Sovereign Republic and draws up for her future governance a constitution.
2. Whereas the territories that now comprise British India, the territories now form Indian States, and such other parts of India as are outside British India and states as well as such other territories as are willing to be constituted into the independent sovereign India, shall be a Union of them all; and
3. Whereas the said territories, whether with their present boundaries or with such others as may be determined by the Constituent Assembly shall, possess and retain the status of autonomous unit, together with residuary powers, and exercise all powers and functions of Government and administration, save and except such powers and functions as are vested in or assigned to the union or as are inherent or implied in the union or resulting therefrom; and
4. Whereas all power and authority of the sovereign independent India, its constituent parts and organs of the Government are derived from the people; and
5. Wherein shall be guaranteed and secured to all the people of India Justice-social, economic and political; equality of status, of opportunity before law; freedom of thought, expression, belief, faith, worship, vocation, association and action, subject to law and public morality; and
6. Whereas adequate safeguards shall be provided to the minorities, backward and tribal areas, and depressed and other backward classes; and

7. Wherein shall be maintained the integrity of the territory of Republic and its sovereign rights on land, sea, and air according to justice and the law of civilised nations; and
8. The ancient land attains its rightful and honoured place in the world and makes its full and willing contribution to the promotion of the world peace and the welfare of mankind.

According to Nehru it is not a mere resolution but it is a declaration, a firm resolve, a pledge, an undertaking and for all of us a dedication.

It is seen that the ideal embodied in the above resolution is faithfully reflected in the preamble to the constitution which as amended in 1976 summarise the aims and objects of the constitution.

## PREAMBLE

"WE THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India a SOVEREIGN SOCIALIST SECULAR DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND to secure all its citizens: Justice-social, economic and political, Liberty of thought, expression, belief faith and worship; EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all: Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity and integrity of the nation;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY THIS twenty sixth day of November 1949, do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this opportunity".

It is profitable to quote hereunder what Sri. Sachindananda Sinha said in his inaugural address as Provisional Chairman, to the constituent assembly on 9th December 1946.

"The structure has been erected by architects of consummate skill and fidelity; its foundations are solid; its compartments are beautiful as well as useful; its arrangements are full of wisdom and order, and its defences are impregnable from without. It has been reared for immortality, the work of man may be justly to aspire such a title. It may, nevertheless, perish

in an hour by the folly, or corruption, or negligence of its only keepers, the people.

These are the words which I commend to you for your consideration (by the virtue, public spirit, and intelligence of the citizens.) They fall, when the wise are banished from the public councils, because they are to be honest, and the profligate are rewarded, because they flatter the people, in order to betray them". Thus the Republic of India was created.

— Joseph story

## **Chapter 2**

### **ENTERING PARLIAMENT**

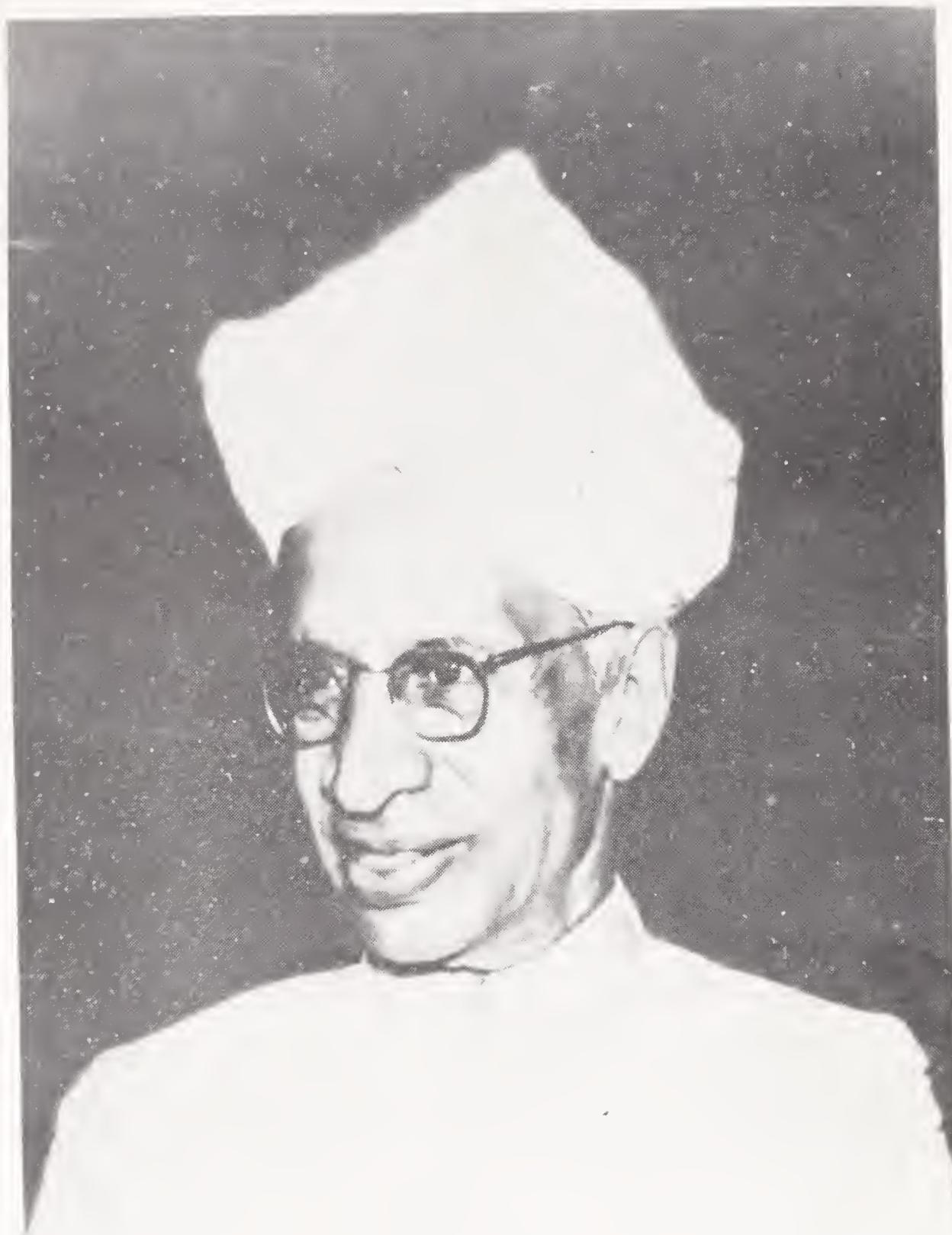
The author was elected to Rajya Sabha in March 1960 from the Congress Party of the then Mysore State Assembly after a long spell of about 27 years since passing out of Agriculture College Coimbatore.

During those three decades the author was an active member of Indian National Congress Party. The author participated in the freedom struggle and suffered imprisonment along with millions of congress men during the individual satyagraha movement of Mahatma Gandhi and Quit India Movement of 1942.

Having specialised in agriculture and animal husbandry in the college the author embraced his ancestral profession of agriculture and animal husbandry and improved the productivity of the local cow by adopting the policy of cross breeding the local cow with exotic bulls. The considerable improvement in productivity of the land and cow was achieved in his farm which he named as "MODEL FARM" at Nilakantapuram, Madakasira Taluk of Anantapur District, then in composite Madras State, close on the border of present Karnataka State.

Marketing of milk and other agriculture products was a bottleneck in the village. Therefore the author shifted the dairy Farm to Bangalore where he organised what was called "The Mysore Dairymen's Association" of which he has been president till today. This innovative policy of putting more milk in Indian cow through cross-breeding of local cows caught the imagination of the dairymen of Bangalore and within a decade a substantial number of cross-bred cows came into being in Bangalore. And now there are nearly 2 lakhs of this breed of cows in Bangalore and surrounding milkshed area.

The cross breeding of local cows with foreign bulls-with a view to enhancing milk yield which had initiated successfully in his village was now popularised through the dairymen's association. It may be far fetched to think that his work in the



*Loyalty*

Parliament can only create conditions. It is for the people and  
the Govt. who have to work in their homes, offices, fields,  
factories, to interpret the true spirit of our Constitution."



Congress party and in the freedom struggle as well as his constructive programme of agriculture and dairy farming in his village and subsequently in the city and surrounding areas of Bangalore attracted the attention of congress leaders, and led to his being put up as a congress candidate for election to the Rajya Sabha from the Mysore Legislative Assembly in March 1960. In this connection the author wishes to express his special debt of gratitude to Sri. N. Sanjeева Reddy the then President of A.I.C.C. who gave him congress ticket. The author was sworn in as Member of Rajya sabha on 6th of April 1960. The Philosopher Statesman S. Radhakirshnan who adored Rajya Sabha as its Chairman, extended welcome to new members in his inimitable impressive words as follows:-

"I should like to extend a very cordial welcome to the new members who have joined us. I hope every one of them will regard himself or herself as a trustee for the good name, honour and dignity of the house. We should like to avoid as much as possible, shoddiness, vulgarity, and personal attacks. Here we are working not for our party interests but for the public good. You have all pledged yourself to abide by the constitution. If you wish to raise a new society in accordance with the spirit of our constitution you have to avoid inertia, obscurantism, reaction and superstition. Parliament can only create the conditions. It is for the people and the Government who have to work in their homes, in their offices, in their fields, in their factories, to interpret the true spirit of our constitution. With your goodwill and cooperation I hope we will continue to do good work in the house !

### AUTHOR'S MAIDEN SPEECH

It is a matter for gratification that the author was called upon to speak on "The Delhi Primary Education Bill", 1960 which was under discussion in the House from 13th April 1960. Thus, his maiden speech had to be made within a week of his entry into parliament. It ran as follows:-

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I rise to give my hearty welcome to this Bill called the Delhi Primary Education Bill, 1960. Several speakers have heartily welcomed this Bill. I also join them in extending my hearty welcome to this. In doing so, it is expected

that this Primary Education will be compulsory and free and in effect, universal. Therefore, it is very necessary to determine how compulsory it should be, how free it should be and what the scope of primary education should be. Those things have got to be determined, and I hope the Joint Select Committee will look into the matter more thoroughly. It is also necessary to know whether this compulsory primary education is necessary only for that class of people called the lower middle class or the poor class of people working in factories and fields. Of course, the sons of the Ministers, the sons of the Members of parliament and the sons of the officers do not need this measure but if we have to afford equal opportunities to all the children of this land, it is absolutely necessary that the state should take the responsibility for giving primary education to every one of them. Therefore, we have to see that this measure proves a success. Of course, it has already been stated that this measure is intended only for the Union Territory of Delhi, a small area, and it has also been stated that it is intended to serve as a model for the rest of the States to follow. Therefore, the responsibility of the Government and Parliament is very great and we have to produce an all-embracing type of Bill which will be acceptable to every one of the States and it has got to be given effect to sooner than later, since already we have been late in the field. So, Sir, if this primary education has to be accorded to the poor classes of people, to children of people who are struggling for two square meals a day, what chance has this Bill to achieve this objective if their poverty is not taken into consideration? I mean to say, Sir, if the parent is struggling for two square meals a day, will this be a success if along with the introduction of this primary education we do not also take the responsibility of feeding the child and clothing the child? And I for one believe, Sir, that it is absolutely necessary to feed the children of the absolutely poor people. It was suggested in this house that mid-day meals will not serve the purpose because most of the children go to the school in the morning with empty stomachs. I am talking of the villages Sir, but of course in towns also it is the same sorry spectacle we see.

One of the great poets has said that the best thing that you can give to a child is the best example. And what are the examples that these children, especially the urchins, school

going children of the poor workers in the factory or in the field, are having? They cluster in any corner of the village or in any corner of the street and probably help themselves to thrown out cigarettes and bidis. It is a horrible spectacle to see them do so. Certainly, that is not the India that we have in view. Therefore, I am of the opinion, Sir, that in order to give the best example to the children the primary school should be made the place where we have to give them the best examples. We cannot give it to a child that is hungry and goes with an empty stomach to the school and certainly there is necessity for a mess in the school. And if a mess is attached to every school, it is definitely not meant for the rich man's child and certainly the rich man's child will not make use of that mess. The mess must be run for the sake of the poor children who go with hungry stomach to the school. Therefore, I propose that, along with this measure, we also run messes for the children of the poor and the needy. Then only the primary education that we compulsorily impart to them will be received well by the children, not otherwise.

Not only this, Sir, I also propose that in order to remove the inferiority complex, in order to remove the feeling in the poor child that he is being brought up as a sub-normal citizen, we should also give them free uniforms. We should prescribe uniforms in every school so that every child feels just as the other feels, appears just as the rich man's child does. So, Sir, uniforms, wherever necessary, should be provided by the State. Then only, Sir, we can be sure to nurse an India which will grow to mighty proportions; that is really our ambition too.

Then, Sir, of course the education is absolutely free and I want, in addition, that the child should be fed and clothed where the child is very poor. Here again, Sir, I want to give a small example of my own struggle to bring a school into existence. In the Harijan quarters in my village with the help of the people there we managed to construct a school, and we requested the authorities to give us a teacher and it took us nearly six months to get a teacher. The teacher came and gradually the strength of the school rose to 80 pupils, both boys and girls, and we felt the necessity to get an additional teacher for that school and tried for it. But till today we have not been able to get the teacher. And what does it show? It shows the deplorable lack of trained

teachers in the country. We talk of primary education. And what steps have been taken either by the States or by the Centre or the local authorities, whatever it is, to have a sufficient number of trained teachers to be readily available to those that need them? Nobody seems to be serious about the affair. With the experience that I have in these four years I do not think I have had enough schemes for training teachers. In this connection, Sir, I would like to quote a famous economist, Gunnal Myrdar, who had been invited to this country:-

\*And I would not permit the continuation of a situation of half a million educated unemployed assembling in city's slums a serious demonstration of misdirected higher education in a country which has not too much but too little education".

What are you going to do about these things? Then, again, Sir, about a quarter of a century ago I happened to be in a committee of the local board called the Primary education committee, and I visited a number of schools- may be about 300 or so. And what struck me in the schools? I found there, children whose faces were covered with undone hair; I found children whose noses were running; I found children with rags or torn clothes on them. It moved me deeply when I saw that sight, and I asked the teacher "Is it very difficult for you to keep a comb in the school- a comb costs only a quarter of an anna those days- and a small mirror- it costs 2 annas or three annas- and ask children to see his or her face in the mirror to find how ugly he was and then guide him to dress his hair with the help of water? He (teacher) need not provide water, he need not supply oil- oil may be costly- but he may help him with a little water and a comb and a mirror so that hair could be done up- the child could look neat. To that question the teacher replied "Well sir, it is not the teacher's job; it does not form part and parcel of the duties to be performed by a teacher". Well sir, that was my disappointment. Also a lot of boys - the poor boys - do not know these things; of course their homes do not provide facilities for getting that amount of training; the home is a poor home; neither the mother nor the father is educated enough to give the necessary training to the children. Then again, Sir, in another school I saw a lot of boys who had come to the school without cleaning their teeth. And the same reply came from the teacher.

"It is not part and parcel of my job". Then I saw some children putting on torn clothes. It may be the boy or girl came to the school with a portion of their clothes torn. And when in school, they play and it may be torn further and it looks like a rag. I asked the teacher "Can you not help such children". There is as you know the famous proverb "A stitch in time saves nine". "Can you not provide them with a little needle and thread and teach them how to stitch before it became more torn." And the reply came that it was not possible for a teacher to do that. And out of the three hundred teachers that I visited only very few followed the advice that was given to them in this respect. And at a teachers conference when I suggested these things, all the teachers came flying at me and said that this was not the job of a teacher. This was the job of father or mother of the child. And if mother or father would have been in a position to give that training and to provide the facilities in the house the children would not have grown in that atmosphere. Since the boys are neglected in the house due to financial stringency and due to lack of tradition at home, I want the teacher in the school to be a friend, philosopher and guide and the school to be the real home of urchins. Unless we make teacher responsible, we are sure to fail, whatever may be the laudable objective with which the hon'ble Minister Dr. Shrimali has brought this bill before this house, it is doomed to failure unless we have a set of teachers who are fired with the zeal and with a missionary spirit to achieve the objective. We are told that there are innumerable educated unemployed people going about the streets. What do you do about them?

Sir, these are some of my reactions to this bill and I hope all these things will be thrashed out by the Joint Select Committee in all their hearings. I hope also the scope of primary education will not be confined merely to the teaching of the three R's but will be extended far beyond it. Very recently our revered Vinobaji said something about what type of education he envisaged. He says the man at the plough even while ploughing should be capable of understanding the Upanishads and of repeating them. That is the type of society he envisages. Certainly we are not changing the present state of things and bring about a society of enlightened people and make this country great through the present system. Starting of such

systems in the primary schools right from the beginning will provide a starting point for that purpose.

Just now my Hon'ble friend Mr. Das referred to the condition in the East India Company days when persons from the elementary schools were being requisitioned to perform big administrative tasks. I have my own experience. Sir, I come from a remote corner of the country, from a village which had not had the benefit of an elementary school even. I was going to a neighbouring village and there I knew the school children were trained to read our epics Mahabharata, the Bhagavatha and the Ramayana. That was how our culture was preserved. And even now I expect our primary education curriculum will include that much of education by which the pupil will be able to understand the Mahabharata, Bhagavatha and Ramayana fully and well. That will be the best safeguard for all our ills and we need not be afraid of communism or any other ism and we will still be Indians and we will carry out tasks well. Sir, these are my reactions to this bill.

#### AUTHOR'S SPEECH ON APPROPRIATION BILL 1960.

The author made his maiden speech in parliament on the subject of primary education on 13th April. Following this, he got a chance to speak on the subject of Agriculture while the Appropriation Bill was being discussed in the house. He felt happy to speak on Agriculture, the subject which was uppermost in his mind. This was on 21st April, 1960 hardly a fortnight since he was sworn into the parliament. The speech is given below:

Mr. Deputy Chairman Sir,

This appropriation bill as passed by Lok Sabha has been placed before this house. At the outset I should like to congratulate the Finance Minister for his talent in appropriating the funds of Central exchequer, among the various Ministries.

Sir, I am a man of the farm and the village and therefore I would like to contribute my remarks to the policies and programmes of the Department of Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Community Development.

Sir, the premier national industry of India is agriculture. A little over 70 percent of population is dependent on agriculture. About 340 million acres of land are said to be under cultivation in our country. But we have never been self sufficient in food. Himalayan efforts are made year after year to maximise production, at any rate ever since Independence. Huge irrigation projects costing billions of rupees and hydro-electric power stations unheard of in the history of India before, have been constructed. Any number of Agricultural colleges have also been opened to train the youth of the country in scientific agriculture. The Departments themselves have been expanded at the centre and state levels. But the paradox is that the phenomenon of shortage is repeating itself year after year. On an average the produce of soil is the poorest. Ours is the most ancient agricultural civilisation. Yet our cow's yield is the poorest. What are the causes? These have got to be gone into more deeply than before.

Sir, agriculture involves soil, water, implements, manures and so on. It is everybody's knowledge that the best management of the soil produces the best results. It is also within everybody's knowledge that the use of the best implements and scientific methods and technology in agriculture produces far better results. After all, the food shortage in India is only 10 percent and when there was peak production of food, namely, 73.5 million tons, we were said to be short of food. Allowing for seeds, wastage and so on, to the extent of 12 million tons, we must have today sufficient food, at the rate of a pound of food per head per day in the entire country. If we analyse the figures from every State, we find that barring probably Bihar in the North and Madras, Kerala and Mysore in the South, every other State seems to have produced enough of food. Still there is the cry that there is shortage of food. What could have been the cause for this state of affairs? Of course plans are made. Costly plan are made. But Sir, may I say that the soil is the basis for the entire life on this earth? It is the top six inches of soil that matters for all life, whether it be herbevorous or cornivorous. Yet that top six inches of soil is utterly neglected everywhere. We have huge agricultural personnel, spread over the length and breadth of India. Still the soil is ill-managed, if I may be

permitted to say so. I had the privilege of going round a little in the country and of seeing what has been happening to the farmer and the field. There is soil erosion and this erosion is eating into the very vitals of our agriculture. Why we have not been able to stop this erosion? Crores are being spent here and there in little corners. But are these methods for stopping erosion being practised on the farms by individual farmers? Criminal ignorance prevails at the lowest level and the man who matters most in agriculture has not been taught how to practise these things. They have not been asked to do it, they have not been shown how to do it by precept and example. In these circumstances if I bring to the notice of the House that this is how colossal losses are being suffered year after year through erosion, the House will be able to know what is happening to our soil, our mother earth. Land is being bled white due to our ignorance and the bad management of the soil. Somebody has called it - I do not know if it will be a parliamentary word to be used here - rape of the soil is taking place. Now, could we not tell every farmer to bund up his fields along the contour lines? After all, in our country more than 250 million acres out of the 340 million acres under the plough are said to be dependent on rain for agriculture, and we depend on fair monsoons for the successful production of food crops and other crops. So the first essential prerequisite for successful dry farming would be the storing up of the water dropping from the heavens. Bunding is most important not only for saving the soil from erosion but it is also necessary for storing the water in the soil for the greater production of food. This is elementary principle. Yet we see that 70 to 80 percent of our land is left open without bunds. The land is just scraped, with wooden plough, and sown. Hardly any improved mould board steel plough is used. We have not been able to give the farmers improved plough as yet. There are improved ploughs which turn out the soil better, and fix the nitrogen in the soil etc. All this is common knowledge. But we have not given the improved implements to the farmer. Yet I do not see any plans for giving each man an improved plough. Is it difficult to make a plough? If an iron plough is given, I can assure the House that this factor alone will bring about an increase of about 10 per cent in the yield.

Waste of the soil through erosion must be stopped. I want plans to be prepared immediately, here and now, to save the soil, save mother earth. The history of man reveals how many ancient civilisations were ruined on account of the neglect of the soil. I do not think I have much time to indulge in all these details and so I will come to the manurial problem.

Sir, it has been estimated on a national scale that the depletion of nitrogen from the soil through our present method of cropping is said to be in the order of 3.8 million tons—I am talking of only nitrogen. I am not talking of other manurial elements. Nitrogen which builds up the plants is most important. A quantity of 3.8 million tons of nitrogen is said to be used up by cropping yearly. But in place of that, what is the nitrogen we are putting back into the soil yearly, in the forms of farmyard manure, green manure, artificial manure, and in the form of cakes? It is said to be hardly a million tons. What will happen to the soil except utter ruination? But fortunately, there are what are called natural recuperative processes that are taking place in the soil and it has been estimated roughly they have been putting in another million tons as against 3.88 million tons, going out. This is the rate at which impoverishment is taking place year after year in the soil. This is the woeful, agricultural situation in our country. Even the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi, referred to this problem in an issue of the Harijan in 1935. He said that if proper care was taken, every animal could yield farmyard manure of the order of fifteen to twenty cart loads as against the present four cart loads. Dr. Fowler estimated the population of Delhi at 2,80,000 in 1930 and he said that if every householder becomes a scavenger of his own house, the manure collected from Delhi through human waste would be enough to fertilize an area of about 95000 acres of land. This could be practised in the entire country with 400 million people. Is there no system today of collecting human waste? This is the most important source, next to cattle manure. Something is to be done in this regard. I have proposed elsewhere in some other circumstances if a latrine is provided to every house, our manurial problem will be solved and the deficit in production could be wiped out on account of this single factor. There are several such factors and I could go on

dealing with them but I have no time; but I will only say that we have not done anything about this.

Is it not possible for the scientists or the engineers or the technologists to invent some small machines which will transplant the plants? No agricultural expert could tell me about this; they said that it was not possible to manufacture such a machine; but China has exhibited a small instrument called the paddy transplanter in the World Agriculture Fair which was capable of transplanting five acres a day. Could not something like that be developed in our country?

### **Question Hour in Parliament and the author's maiden Question.**

The question hour in parliament is an important part of parliament procedure in parliamentary system of Democracy. India is a union of states having characteristics of a federation. The Government at the Centre and those at the States have three branches namely the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. Legislature at the State level consists of a Legislative Assembly and a Legislative council. Legislature at the centre is parliament consisting of Lok sabha and Rajya sabha. The Lok sabha in the centre and Assemblies in states are elected through adult suffrage. The executive formed on the basis of majority of Lok Sabha members becomes the Government entrusted with ruling the state under direction of the constitution. Legislature frames laws for governance of the country.

Therefore Members of Legislature to whom the Government is responsible, have the right to question the Government on various matters of public interest and obtain their replies. Thus errors and faults of Government are exposed for correction and remedy. Therefore in all parliamentary democracies a question hour is set apart in Legislatures in the conduct of business.

The present question relates to the problem of infiltration from East Pakistan. The author had sensed that with the advance of time this problem would assume serious dimensions and sought to warn the Government that its habitual policy of allowing time to settle the matter and shirking the responsibility

of taking resolute action would lead to greater danger. Though habit of looking upon such problems from a humanitarian point of view was no doubt reasonable it is not in this case at least, politically wise.

The author's maiden question came up for answer on 6th September 1960, five months after his entry into the parliament. The question— No.640:-

Will the Minister of rehabilitation and Minority Affairs be pleased to state:-

- a. The present number of displaced persons from East Pakistan who are living in (i) Camps (ii) in squatter colonies?
- b. What the number of squatter colonies is and
- c. the daily amount of doles now distributed per capita and what is the value of annual expenditure incurred in this regard.

The Minister for Rehabilitation and Minority Affairs (Sri. Meharchand Khanna) Answered that—

- a. i. There were about one lakh persons in camps on 31st July 1960.
- ii. It is estimated that 1.25 lakh persons are residing in squatter colonies.
- b. 147 Colonies
- c. Doles are not paid on daily basis. The estimated average cost of maintenance of displaced persons in camps amounts to Rs. 21 per capita per month. Expenditure for the year for 1959-60 was Rs. 416.23 lakhs.

Sri N Sri Rama Reddy: May I known Sir, the number of families now proposed to be settled in Dandakaranaya?

Sri. Meharchand Khanna:- This question has no relation whatsoever with Dandakaranaya but I think we have sent round

about eight to ten thousand persons. They come from West Bengal as well as from Bihar.

Sri. N. Sri. Rama Reddy:- How many houses are already built and how many more are required to be built.

Sri. Meharchand Khanna:- Sir, only on 10th August last I circulated a very detailed note to members of parliament giving some particulars about the Dandakaranaya scheme. Houses there are under construction, but during the monsoon months nothing much can be done.

Sri. N. Sri. Rama Reddy- It looks the Dandakaranaya Scheme offers some very good scope for settling the landless people apart from refugees from East Pakistan. Is there any possibility of settling the landless people who are found all over the country apart from East Pakistan refugees?

Sri. Meharchand Khanna:- This question was discussed in a broad manner between the Chief Minister of Bengal and Prime Minister of India on the 6th of June and certain priorities are laid down in the settlement that was issued from the Prime Minister's Secretariat then. I think the date was 7th June. The first priority is rehabilitation of displaced persons who are in camps in West Bengal and also the interests of tribals. After this aspect of the matter is fully considered and persons are rehabilitated the general question of rehabilitation from other parts of India can be considered because in the words of Prime Minister, Sir, it is a national problem which will go on being developed for quite some time to come.

This was the author's maiden question in the second session of parliament since his entry into it. Thereafter he remained an active member of parliament. He did not miss any chance of making speech or raising a question. Life in parliament was exciting and no member could be a silent witness or passive observer.

## *Chapter 3*

### **CHINESE AGGRESSION.**

#### **VISIT OF CHOU-EN-LAI.**

"Success often goes to those who dare and act.  
It seldom goes to the timid"

— Jawaharlal Nehru

China is the biggest country in the world in population. The Communist Party of Mao Tse-Tung conquered entire China through his revolutionary Army driving away Kumington regime to Taiwan. China became an independent Communist country in 1948 a year later than India. This revolutionary struggle started in 1934 and took 14 years to complete Communist Revolution and take over entire China. The hard struggle through this long period of 14 years gave strength and military experience to the Revolutionary Party on the one hand and impoverished Kumington Party on the other. Chiang-Kai-Sheik was driven out of China and he was forced to take refuge in Taiwan.

Mao-Tse-Tung China became the biggest country in the world with more than 600 million population. Mao developed faith in his own greatness. The thought of building up China by hook or crook as the greatest nation became the supreme objective of Mao and his party. Means had no meaning for them. All that mattered was the end.

Their objective was to extend their hegemony over Afro-Asian world which the Chinese regarded as their sphere of influence. The New China, therefore, started working up the smaller nations of the Afro-Asian world to look to Peking. In this design of New China India became an obstacle. Nehru's foreign policy based on the philosophy of "Panchasheel" which meant Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and Sovereignty, Mutual non-aggression, Non-interference in each other's internal affairs, Equality and Mutual benefit and peaceful Co-existence., had caught the imagination of not only the Afro-Asian Countries but many small and big nations in the world, each independently or

separately. Thus, Nehru had stolen a march over China by the time Mao took control of it.

This, instead of creating friendly relations and greater cohesiveness between India and China, became an eye sore to Mao. The hand of friendship offered by India to China was not reciprocated in the spirit in which it was offered. India's size, though next to China and her growing strength and importance were considered by China as a potential challenge to her own. Therefore China thought it imperative that as soon as she completed her preparations and stabilised her rule she should attempt to cut India to her size. No consideration either of sentiment or of honour were allowed to deflect China from pursuit of downgrading India in the eyes of the rest of the world. Mao thought, if India could be humbled by the might of China, the entire Afro-Asian countries would not be able to hold out against the blandishments of China.

With this end in view, China started occupying Tibet. Dalai Lama escaped to India. Nehru's intervention in the matter of saving Tibet though as country under the suzerainty of China were scornfully rejected by China. And what is more, China started incursions into India. Aksai Chin Road was constructed on the Indian soil without the knowledge of India. Several reports of aggression were received by India.

Mr. Nehru as a great admirer of ancient friendship and fraternity between China and India had not only recognised the people's Republic of China but had pleaded in the international forum relentlessly for admission of New China into UNO. The reply of China for all these good deeds was, marching of Mao's armies into Tibet as early as in 1950 itself. Thus, the rape of Tibet began by China. Yet, India was reluctant to rub on the wrong side of China.

In 1956, Chou-En-Lai visited India and reaffirmed the principles of 'Panchsheel' in all solemnity. But before the ink on which Panchseel was written, was dry, penetrations into Indian territory of Ladakh was started by China. Not satisfied with this, China repudiated the traditional boundary and laid claim to 50000 sq. miles of Indian territory. Even Mac Mohan Line in NEFA was crossed by the Chinese military.

In spite of all these aggressive actions of China, Mr. Nehru invited China for mutual discussions and settlement of border question peacefully. Nehru hated a combat with an old friend. China accepted Nehru's invitation and Chou-en-lai visited India.

The most important event that took place in April, 1960 was the visit of the Prime Minister of China Mr. Chou-en-lai for discussions with the Prime Minister of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

The author was one of the members of parliament who went to the Air Port to receive the Chinese Prime Minister. Each one of the members present was introduced to the distinguished visitor. As each one of the members was being formally introduced to him, the author's own impulsive nature broke out and not only did he extend a hearty welcome to the honoured guest but suggested the differences between India and China should be successfully resolved and that the age old friendship between India and China should be preserved at all costs. The author was the only one who broke the formal silence and restraint of the occasion.

Prolonged discussions were held in Delhi between these two Prime Ministers and their aides.

At the conclusion of the talks between the Prime Ministers of India and China the joint communique was placed before the Rajya Sabha by the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and the same came up for discussion on 29th April, 1960. In a short speech, introducing the communique he said, "The joint communique issued on the conclusion of the talks between the Premier of the State Council of the people's Republic of China and the Prime Minister of India laid on the table of the Rajya Sabha on the 26th April, 1960 be taken into consideration.

"This Joint Communique is not a very long document. It is only a page and a half and it is the outcome of about twenty or twenty-two hours of talk and discussion. Behind this lies some hints. Talks mention not only on attitudes but also on a certain significant historical situation. This gave rise to a significant change in International political situation in the world. This is evident by a sentence in the communique that "in spite of all

these efforts no solution was found." This is the result of the talks. All the same it shows however difficult the task may be, the attempt to find a solution is not given up and will be kept to the end in so far as there is any hope. That is the main result of these talks and this communique. I have no doubt that it was not only worthwhile but it was right for us to have invited Premier Chou-En-Lai here and to have had these talks. It was right anyhow. Not to have done so would have been wrong. Although these talks have not helped in the least in the solution of the problems, they have certainly given to us the mind of the Chinese Government and our mind to the Chinese Premier.

And that was why I was anxious that Premier Chou-En-Lai and his colleagues should meet as many members of our Government as possible to see that it was not just one spokesman who was cutting across the mind of the Indian people. It was important that he should and I believe he must have done that".

## CHINA INVADES

Early in October 1962, the Prime Minister Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru and Defence Minister Shri. V.K. Krishna Menon were invited to Ceylon by the then Prime Minister. On their way to Ceylon both of them halted at Madras. They addressed a public meeting. Answering a question put by the journalists whether the reports appearing in the Press that China had attacked the northern border of India, and occupied vast areas of Indian territory was true, Shri. Nehru retorted that he had ordered the military to throw out the Chinese if they had so attacked and occupied the Indian territory.

Having heard this news, the Chinese felt irritated and vast well equipped Chinese army attacked the north-eastern frontier border; India sent its own army ill-equipped and ill-prepared to face the Chinese army. The Indian army had no proper ammunition, nor weather proof uniforms. The Chinese army out-numbered the Indian army in the mountainous areas. There were no roads good enough for vehicular movement. Thus the large Indian army either surrendered to the Chinese army or retreated to safety and tracked back from the front.

The war with China rose to the pitch. The Chinese armies pushed forward both in the West and East. The retreat of our armies became too conspicuous. Indian losses both in men and in war material were nearly colossal. At this stage Shri. Lal Bahadur Shastri Home Minister moved the following two resolutions in the parliament.

Mr Chairman,

1. This House approves the proclamation of Emergency issued by the President on the 26th October, 1962, under clause (1) of Article 352 of the Constitution.
2. This House notes with deep regret that, inspite of the uniform gestures of goodwill and friendship by India towards the People's Government of China on the basis of recognition of each other's independence, non-aggression and non-interference, and peaceful co-existence, and friendship and the principles of Panchsheel which had been agreed to between the two countries, China has committed aggression and initiated a massive invasion of India by her armed forces.

This House places on record its high appreciation of the valiant struggle of men and officers of our armed forces while defending our frontiers and pays its respectful homage to the martyrs who have laid down their lives in defending the honour and integrity of our Motherland. This House also records its profound appreciation of the wonderful and spontaneous response of the people of India to the emergency and the crisis that has resulted from China's invasion of India. It notes with deep gratitude this mighty upsurge amongst all sections of our people for harnessing all our resources towards the organisation of an all-out effort to meet this grave national emergency. The flame of liberty and sacrifice has been kindled and a new and a fresh dedication has taken place to the cause of India's freedom and integrity.

This House gratefully acknowledges the sympathy and the moral and material support received from a large number of friendly countries in this grim hour of our struggle against aggression and invasion.

With hope and faith, this House affirms the firm resolve of the Indian people to drive out the aggressor from the sacred soil of India, however long and hard the struggle may be

Participating in the debate on the resolution, the author supported the Government and urged that we should meet China with all our physical and moral strength, oppose Maoism by Nehruism and strengthen not only the sinews of war but also develop a firm basis of strength on the countryside by paying due attention to agriculture and Industrial Development.

This humble author took part in the discussions and the following is the speech delivered by him in the House.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this parliament for the first time in its life is meeting under the dark shadows of the invasion of our sacred territory of India by whom? - by an age-long friend, whom we believed, with whom we cultivated assiduously all the friendship, with all love and affection that we could have. When we think of this country, China, our memory naturally goes back to thousands of years before when the message of compassion, the message of loving kindness, the message of maitri, crossed the Himalayas from this country to China to find a habitat and a home. Similarly the ancient wisdom of China crossed the borders and came down to India to enrich the life and culture of this country. From centuries we have been friendly to this nation and even recently, even with the Kumintang regime we have been very friendly. I remember that during the war period Mr. Chiang Kai-Shek, the then ruler of China, had to speak very favourably about giving responsibility and freedom to this country. We also know how friendly our beloved leader, the present Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, was to entire nation of China. As things would have it, facts of life were recognised and when the Kuomintang regime was driven out of their country, the same hand of friendship was extended to the present regime of the people's Republic of China. We have spared no pains to keep the friendship of this country and its great people. For all that we did - I do not want to go into the history of our relationship with the people's Republic of China-it is a well-known history, the return was this, this naked aggression, this unabashed aggression on our territory by a friend whom we trusted all along and for ages before. What does it show? It only

shows that it is not communism as it is made out here, it is not that the world is divided into a communist bloc and a democratic bloc. I can prove here and now that the world is not divided on that basis. That is the very strength for the non-alignment of this country. The world is not divided into a communist bloc and a democratic bloc.

Sir, things of history, of the hoary past, come to my mind. In this world of ours, on this planet, there were men like Chenghiz Khan. There was also the philosophy of Bonaparteism which wanted to control the entire world and be the conqueror of the world. There was recently, as we know, Hitlerism which also wanted to control other nations and become the ruler of the entire world. And then again there was this Stalinism also leading to the same self glorification. But all these have come to utter ruin and destruction. Will this Maoism, the ideology of this new Chenghiz Khan, survive? Will this perfidy, this faithlessness and this sort of treachery, will this succeed? If they think so, they are utterly mistaken. Today the world is more united than before and it is united to repress and destroy aggression, to destroy injustice, united to establish justice in the world. I am quite sure the nations of the world are wide awake and this Maoism will not be allowed to survive on this planet. It will find its own destruction. About that I have not the slightest doubt. If anybody thinks that this is a question of communism on the one hand and democracy on the other, he is utterly mistaken. It is not so. What have we done to China for her to indulge in this naked aggression? We have only extended the hand of co-operation to China all along. We pleaded their cause and we were almost the first to recognise the Government of the people's Republic of China, we pleaded their cause in the councils of the world. And in return for all that, what do we get? This naked aggression. Will this last? I myself believe that this will not last and Maoism will get destroyed. It will be buried under the Himalayas, the very Himalayas whose sacredness is attempted to be destroyed by China. I am sure the Chinese people are not behind this Maosim. This is only Maoism, it is only aggrandisement. It is only boundless avarice for territory that has brought about this state of affairs. This injustice shall be put an end to and I have no doubt that it will be put an end to.

True, the situation today is like this. This aggressor, this perfidious aggressor, has taken advantage of our friendship to do what? The rape of Tibet was committed and in that we had to acquiesce on account of certain situations, on account of history not on account of the bigness of Maoism. And then what happened? He built roads and roads in Tibet were built right up to our frontiers. Large concentration of military power was made in Tibet. We were not aware of it; probably not. We were not aware of the evil designs of this aggressor. And then in an underhand manner, aggression was committed in 1956 in Ladakh on our territory, even before the ink was dry on the Panchsheel agreement. In 1956, at the time of the Panchsheel agreement, there were cries of "Hindi-Chini Bhai Bhai". Our 44 crores of people with one voice cried our "Hindi-Chini, Bhai Bhai". But then this yellow dragon had come down here with a human skin on. This was the state of affairs. And then this aggression took place slowly and steadily and this penetration was extended right up to Ladakh and to Aksai chin. When questioned, the people were shot down, when these things took place, this Nehru, this man of truth, this man who does not bear any illwill to anybody, no malice to anyone, what could he say? he was only saying that this dragon would be somehow tamed, tamed by his goodness. He tried his best. But the penetration increased and increased and it has come to what it is today.

Sir, this man, present ruler of China, has no qualms about anything. He had put a line in Ladakh, what is called the 1956 line, which ran from Karakoram to the Konga Pass through the lower reaches of the Chip Chap River and the Galwan River. It was then like an arc. It was a concave line - this 1956 line. But in 1960, during the Chinese talks with Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru, it became convex line and came from the Karakoram, through the upper reaches of the Chip Chap River and the Galwan River, right up to Demchok where Tibet, Himachal Pradesh and Kashmir meet. It became a convex line. On this man, who changes boundaries as he likes, this man who alters maps to suit his own conveniences, we can absolutely have no faith. Will this man survive? Many wicked men like him have passed into history and he will also go the way of all wicked men. There is absolutely no doubt about that. So, I say we can have no faith in this man and the only thing to do is to destroy Maoism.

Otherwise there is nothing. We do not bear any ill-will to the people of China, but this philosophy must be put an end to. Otherwise the whole world is in danger. Its only purpose is subjugation. What else is the big motive behind this attack on India? He wants to humiliate India. India is a big nation which has stood for truth, for Ahimsa and for anti-communalism and everything virtuous in human life as it exists on this planet. And the idea is to subjugate this nation, to break its spirit and by doing that, by humiliating this nation, China can become the biggest nation and then it can easily subjugate the entire Asia. That is the idea. It is not a question of small territory here or there. It is a question of subjugation. What can poor neighbouring countries of South-East Asia do? They will have to submit to this dragon. Therefore, essentially the fight is between Maoism represented by expansionism and perfidy and deceit on the one side and on the other this Nehruism, representing truth, the sacred truth which is his heritage from the Father of the Nation, Mahatma Gandhi. And truth will win. About that there is no doubt. For the present, let us leave it to the test of time.

What is our duty now? We are faced with a very serious situation, it is true. I am glad that under the illustrious leadership of our Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, the entire nation to the last man is now united to throw out the aggressor. We shall certainly do. We do not have the weapons now, but the world has arms and forty odd countries of this world have come forward and expressed their sympathy and support. The necessary aid is coming and will come in larger and larger measure and I am sure we will be able to stand up to this aggressor and teach him a lesson. Therefore, we have no fear on that ground.

We have very fittingly paid the most glorious tributes to the jawans who are fighting on the snowy peaks of the Himalayas, against the dragon that has come over there. I am sure this dragon will be taught a lesson. For every jawan fighting there it is said that some thirty or forty people must be working hard on the home front here. The big idea of the present ruler of China, of this Maoism is to come in the way of the development of our country. If economic development of this country takes place, then India would become a mighty country but he does not want

to allow this to happen. His 'leap forward' having gone to dogs, he is now out to destroy the Five Year Plan of Jawaharlal Nehru through which he wanted to build up the economy of this country. He does not want to have a prosperous neighbour by his side. This is the way every wicked man behaves. So, we shall have to see that our Plan does not suffer in any way. Our leader has sent out a clarion call that every man working in the field, every man working in the factory, every man working in the office, every man working in this country, shall have to be a soldier in the home front. For every jawan who is fighting on the front thirty to forty men will have to work in the factory in the field, in the office, in fact in all departments of human life in the country. That we have to do. First of all, industrial development should never be allowed to slacken in the country and I am sure that steps are being taken for that purpose. I would submit through our worthy Home Minister that for every type of industry there must be a committee with which a Parliament Member is also associated. Make all of us work, work night and day, to see that the fullest capacity in every line of industry is developed, that no capacity shall be allowed to remain idle in any factory anywhere. More factories have to be established as my predecessor was saying. This is the opportunity to thwart the evil designs of the invader and now is the time for India to show its mettle and to bring about greater production. If production is the key to the prosperity of human beings it is also the key for deserving freedom and for preserving it well.

I want to say one word with regard to agricultural production in this country. I have always made my view known to this House and pointed out what a tremendous lack of implementation is there in regard to agricultural production programmes in the country. The Five Year Plan by itself is excellent; it is very well conceived but implementation is woefully lacking. I want to tell the Home Minister what is happening in this regard. I had an opportunity to visit his own province and I found that 80 percent, of the dung produced by livestock was being burnt. I have also calculated that 25 million tons of nitrogenous manure can be produced from out of the dung of cattle. For producing one million tons of nitrogenous manure you are spending crores and crores of rupees while all these 25 million tons of organic manure are allowed to go waste

by being burnt. So, the burning of dung must be stopped immediately. If under the stress of this national emergency we do not stop this burning of this valuable manure, we shall never be able to do so. I have been an agriculturist for the last 30 years. Even when I was in the college I have heard it being said that the Report of the Royal Commission had pointed out that the dung was being burnt and wasted. In the context of the present necessity you will have to take it up with the Agriculture Minister. Ever since I came to parliament I have been telling this to the Minister of Agriculture but it has fallen on deaf ears. You will have to take it up under the emergency. Instead of being burnt, if the dung is put to proper use you can double the production, make it triple or quadruple if it is worked up for three years. We can produce three times; in place of 100 tons we can produce 300 tons. So the agricultural production programmes have got to be specially taken care of.

Now, I come to irrigation potential. At a tremendous cost to the exchequer you have constructed many projects but the usage of the irrigation potential is not said to be even 25 per cent. This state of affairs surely will lead to destruction. It has got to be remedied. No natural resources should be allowed to be wasted. Let us teach everybody. In every village you have got your village worker. You have got to make him emergency-conscious; orientate him to defence purposes. Every action of ours whether in parliament or outside must be defence oriented. Everybody everywhere must become defence-oriented. That is the surest way to throw out the aggressor. For everything you want to get done you can make use of parliament Members and I am sure they will all do it. You should form committees for agriculture, for industry. In every village the village panchayats are there. Luckily, our organisation is built up properly. Right from the base we are having a perfectly good organisation, right up to Delhi. We have a good organisation from 'Halli to Delhi' as we say in Mysore and the entire organisation has got to be defence oriented.

I would only say one thing more and that is this. Everywhere, in every home, in every hearth, in the mind of every man, what is wanted is Nehru's effort. The type of effort that we want everyone to put in is the effort of Mr. Nehru. A

symbol to the Country - Nehru's effort, Nehru's efficiency, Nehru's economy. That is what is needed. That is the surest way to destroy Maoism on the other side of the Himalayas.

Thus the War against India was started by China.

Author wrote a letter to the Prime Minister regarding American arms aid to Pakistan to which Shri. Nehru sent a reply. Author's letter and reply are given below for the benefit of readers.

The letter of the author to the Prime Minister dated 1st August 1961.

N. Sri Rama Reddy, BSc., Agri  
Member of Parliament  
Rajya Sabha.

Madahavanagar, Bangalore.  
Telephone : 4306  
41, South Avenue, New Delhi,

1st August 1961.

My Respected Leader,

Pakistan's President Mahomed Ayub Khan has unleashed a campaign of hatred against India. His speeches before and after he left Pakistan to USA on his 'aid Mission' and later, on return to Pakistan, are filled with great love of philosophy of hatred by which Pakistan was established by late Mahmmed Ali Jinnah. All the good effects of resolution of major conflicts like canal water dispute which have in reality brought untold relief to Pakistan, are forgotten as soon after they are brought about. President Ayub Khan's behaviour towards India, of late, is no better than his predecessors in office. You could not have denounced this behavior better than saying that "I have never seen such political behaviour during 40 or 50 years of public life" in your recent Srinagar speech.

But what has been worrying the public in our country is 'The Arms Aid' - particularly the modern jets armed with air to air missiles and ground to air missiles etc. It is still our hope that USA in view of our friendly relations will not venture to place at the disposal of the Military Dictator of Pakistan arms like missiles or any nuclear weapons especially when he has publicly declared that he would not prefer to put American

weapons in 'cotton wool' in the event of violation of his territory. Violation of territory may well be the pretext for an unscrupulous soldier.

All the same we would like to be told what the 'arms aid' position to Pakistan is and how India is proposed to meet this threat of Pakistan. Any missiles or other modern weapons in the hands of Pakistan is considered 'a stone in a mad man's hand' as a Telugu proverb goes. Superior armament of a bad neighbour is a serious position to reckon with in spite of our superior economic strength.

I suggest you may kindly agree to address our party in this regard on 13.8.1961 when members of both the Houses of our party are likely to be present at Delhi.

With kind regards,

Yours most sincerely,  
sd. N. Sri.. Rama Reddy.



PRIME MINISTERS HOUSE  
NEW DELHI

No. 1653-PMH/61

August 7, 1961

Dear Shri Sri Rama Reddy,

Thank you for your letter of 1st August. I have already referred to this matter of American arms aid to Pakistan in answer to many questions in the Lok Sabha today. I shall deal with it further when international affairs are discussed.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

Shri Sri Rama Reddy, M.P.,  
41 South Avenue,  
New Delhi.

Author's letter to the Prime Minister on Chinese aggression and the need for obtaining arms from other friendly Countries.

N. Sri. Rama Reddy, Bsc., (Agri)

127, South Avenue,  
New Delhi

Dated 23rd October, 1962.

My Beloved Leader,

The unabashed aggression of China over our sacred land which has been taking place in an underground way since 1957 has come to the open at last.

The process of annexation of territory which has been happening without a bloody fight is taking place with it and the process cannot continue for long.

Your stirring call of yesterday's broadcast must have pressed every man and woman in the country into action and a process of steeling of the wills under your inspiring leadership is taking place.

We must build up our military strength by all means at our disposal though that by itself may not be enough. This occupies a pre-eminent place in our security. But the picture of our military strength you have given to the country and the events in the field of fighting so far exhibited, do not show out that we have, let alone superior, even equivalent military equipment or personnel strength matching with that of unscrupulous adversary.

As I was listening to your broadcast speech I sub-consciously interpreted your following lines namely, "we have behind us the strength of our United Nation. Let us rejoice because of this and apply it to major task of today, that is preserving our complete freedom and intergrity and removal of all those who committed aggression on India's sacred territory" to mean that you were prepared to seek a UNO help for making up the deficiencies in equipment etc. When this morning I read the text of your speech I realised you were referring to the United Nation that is India. You are right. But, is my sub-concious feeling that equipment needed should be obtained through the good offices of UNO also correct? It is for you to decide.

Now your direction to the nation is that the military strength "has to be supported fully by the industry of the nation and by increasing our production in every way that is necessary for us". Now I am not a militay man. I am a man of the field and the barn. I have been a farmer in these 30 years and pledge to do my utmost to increase the production in this field

With kind regards,

Yours most sincerely,

Sd. N. Sri. Rama Reddy

Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru,  
Prime Minister  
New Delhi.

### NEHRU'S REPLY TO THE ABOVE LETTER

No. 176-PMH/62,

Prime Minsiter's House, New Delhi.

October 24, 1961.

Dear Sri Rama Reddy,

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd october. The crisis before us is such a big one that it will require all our effort to meet it, and it will probably last a long time. We shall try to get such equiment as required from any friendly country. The United Nations is not an organisation which supplies equipment.

Your sincerely,

Sd. Jawaharlal Nehru.

Shri. N. Sri Rama Reddy, MP,  
122, South Avenue,  
New Delhi.

Continuing the discussions about the Chinese aggression in the parliament, Dr. H.N. Kunzru made the following historic speech:

"Mr. Chairman, nobody could have been so simple-minded as to suppose that the conversations that were to take place between the Prime Ministers of India and China would solve the problem of Chinese aggression of Indian territory. The latest note received by the Government of India from the Chinese Government can leave no doubt in anybody's mind that China is determined to hold what it possesses at the present time. That part of the note which deals with the Mac Mohan Line shows broadly how far the Chinese Government is prepared to go to deny facts that are not favourable to it and make unfounded assertions in support of its claims. The failure of Nehru Chou-En-Lai talks has therefore not come as a surprise or as a disappointment to anybody. I am glad to say the Prime Minister firmly maintained his ground but we have to recognise that notwithstanding his tenacity and his courtesy, nothing has been achieved. The Prime Minister made a short statement in the other House on his talks with the Prime Minister of China. There is one sentence in it which seems to me very disturbing. He said notwithstanding his best efforts, he could not find out from the Chinese Prime Minister what the true boundary in the opinion of the Chinese Government should be. Now, what does this mean? It means that China does not want to commit itself to any boundary at the present time and that it wants to hold itself free to claim in future any other territory that it may consider to be desirable; I mean, this makes it clear that China, though prepared to negotiate and argue with India, is really playing the game of power politics, and it is this that has to be recognised in our future dealings with China. We recognise. Sir, the immensity of the problem. This does not require that our powers of action should be paralysed and that we should merely think of the magnitude of the problem wondering what the future will bring forth. The statement made by the Prime Minister of China yesterday in Nepal, that he regarded the Prime Minister's statement in the Lok Sabha as distressing, seems surprising. He has virtually charged the Prime Minister of India with not having dared to say to his face what he said to parliament behind his back. But it is rather surprising to me that the Chinese Premier should not realize that the whole country thinks that China has been guilty of aggression, that it is following a policy of expansionism, and that every country that has the power to do it must resist this policy to the best of its ability. The sooner China

understands this fact, the better. India has not put forward its powers of resistance, but when it does so, I am sure it will make China realise that the game of power politics cannot be played as easily as it does. Sir, I will agree with my Hon. friend, Shri. Ganga Sharan Sinha, that this is the time when we all must put forth our best efforts in order to preserve the integrity of India. But even on this occasion I find it difficult to pass over two important questions; in fact Nehru has tried to evade them. But Nehru must answer them; it is his duty to the country to answer these questions satisfactorily. I do not want to be unfair to him. In all my dealings with him I have treated him with the highest respect, and I realize the great part that he played in the struggle of our country for its freedom, but I regard it as a duty to truth to say that the present situation has arisen because of the determined refusal of the Government of India to take note of the realities of the situation, and it is still more painful for me to say that the person responsible for this failure is the very person who played a glorious part in the struggle for Indian freedom. He was so keen on promoting the cause of peace — every other thing seemed to him to be of so little consequence in comparison with it that he forgot that he could have a foreign policy only in proportion to his strength. We are really Sir, paying the penalty for having treated the rights of Tibet rather lightly both in 1950 and in 1954 when we entered into Panchasheela treaty with China. Now, Sir, we all have to think — whatever the reasons that might have led to the present situation — what is to be done in order to strengthen the country. In the first place, Sir, I feel that we must take all possible measures to strengthen the capacity of the country for its defence. We have come face to face with a situation where we can no longer neglect our responsibility for the maintenance of the integrity of the Indian territory. We should grudge no expenditure that may be required to meet the present situation. Sir, I should be the last person to counsel the country to plunge light heartedly or blindly into war, but surely the policy of the Prime Minister, by whatever name he may call it, Panchasheela, or a policy of non-alignment or any other name, does not prevent the country from making itself powerful enough to prevent any encroachment on its territory. Surely, Sir, to make adequate arrangements for our own defence is not to adopt a policy of aggression. We owe it to ourselves that we should not be dependent, for the maintenance

of our integrity, on the kindness of any other power, but we have, I am sorry to say, so far on the goodwill of our great neighbour to maintain the integrity of the country. In this respect again I feel that I have a very painful duty to discharge. If the Prime Minister wants to assure the country that he is taking adequate measures to strengthen its power to defend its interests, he has to change his Defence Minister. I have nothing personal, not a word to urge, on personal grounds, against Shri. Krishan Menon. I know his capacity for hard work and his ability. But we all know that the country, generally speaking, has no confidence in him. I doubt whether the Congress Party has much confidence in him".

The Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in reply to the discussions admitted the occupation of Indian territory by China building Aksai Chin Road in the West and also occupation of a vast territory in the East. He said that he could not say to the Chinese Prime Minister "to vacate the aggression", for according to him that was not the way of dealing with a country in discussion. He pleaded that since Chinese were in occupation of Indian area either we controlled it by pushing them out or we negotiated with them to settle the matter.

"The Hon. Member, Dr. Kunzru referred to various things. He referred to what I stated, as the failure to find out what China claims to be her boundary. That has been our attempt. Even in the correspondence published in the White Paper, we asked them repeatedly what was the precise boundary. Of course, they showed the boundary. They showed it in their maps. They showed it in some descriptions. But we wanted to know the precise boundary, just as we gave them our precise boundary in terms of latitudes and longitudes and exact points. They had not done it. They did not do so when the officials met here either. It has not been demarcated and therefore we should sit down and demarcate it. Our reply always has been that while it is true that it is not demarcated on the ground, it has been delimited precisely enough in maps, records, etc., and it is not possible to demarcate it over certain areas at all, physically. Anyhow, their present position was "Let us demarcate it". and they defined their boundary in the western sector as going from the Karkoram Range down south to the Konga Pass. But that is not the major

water-shed. There are two water-sheds there, the major one which we claim to be real boundary and the minor one on the west of it, or from the Karkoram Range down South to the Konga Pass. Therefore partly they indicated their boundary, not precisely and the one they indicated was, according to us, the wrong place, going much to the west of the real boundary.

Then Kunzru referred to and asked how the present situation had arisen and who was responsible. That is rather a difficult question for me to answer. May be he is right, not so much, I think, as to how the situation has arisen because it has arisen due to numerous factors with which we have nothing to do, but we might say that we might have been wise enough to foresee and to predict what had happened and be prepared for it. Possibly he is right. It is rather difficult for me to say. May be I am not a very good judge of my own actions. It is difficult to judge one's own actions and one's own mind. But I would like him to appreciate that the things that have happened have been on a rather major World Scale. Whether they have happened near our border or elsewhere the changes that were taking place during the last ten years or more have been tremendous, and anything that we might have done really would have been on a relatively small scale. It is always easy to be wise after the event. But let us consider it in the larger context; because something has been happening in these years which is of tremendous historic significance, and which we have to face, now and in the future. However, if the Hon. member thinks that we have been lax or careless, well, I have no answer to that. He may have adequate reasons for thinking so. He spoke of the determined refusal of the Government of India to take note of realities. I don't quite know what he refers to by that.

Dr. Kunzru - what I referred to was this. It is my impression and my belief that the Government of India or rather - let me be frank and say - the Prime Minister, because no other person is concerned with foreign policy, almost resented when a statement was made here, saying that China was increasing its military strength and this might prove unfavourable to India. This was what I meant.

Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru : I think there Dr. Kunzru is not at all right. What I said at that time and in what context, I have no

recollection. But ever since the Chinese Revolution, every person acquainted with the position, knew of China's growing strength and repeatedly we had discussed this matter years ago. We might have misjudged sometimes or something, but the major fact was not at all hidden from us, and it was repeatedly discussed as to what steps should be taken and what should not be taken.

Then the Hon. member said something about the foreign policy being proportional to our strength. That, of course, is a statement with which nobody could disagree. It should be. But what exactly is the foreign policy we have followed which is outside our strength is not clear to me.

In any policy that you follow, in so far as it depends on the strength of other countries, naturally the question arises against what country, how many countries. No country today is strong enough to follow a foreign policy of its liking, not even the great countries, the United States of America and the Soviet Union. Even they cannot follow it completely because of the amazing forces at work in the world today.

Then he referred to something to non-alignment and Panchasheela, perhaps indicating that was where our policy went ahead of our strength. Well, I think that Panchasheela and non-alignment are principles which fit in with every country's strength - I would not say every country. Perhaps there may be some which do not. But certainly oddly enough, all or most of the opponents of this policy who criticise it, admit the rightness of this policy. For us it is right in the past and right in the present. There are critics. I am not talking about those who oppose it.

Dr. Kunzru: Will the Prime Minister allow me to say one thing. You have a policy of Panchasheela but you must also see that peace reigns on your borders and that depends on your strength. That is what I meant, by saying what I had said.

Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru: That is perfectly true. Panchsheel has nothing to do, if I may say so, with countries misbehaving or invading or committing aggression. If you have a law and if a man commits murder, well it is murder. It does not mean that the

law is bad. I do not see this mixing up. Panchsheel does not mean that we should leave our borders weak. That is not the meaning. Our borders should be strong and country should be strong. Panchsheel is a code of conduct a code of behaviour between countries. It is a right code. If a country does not follow it, well, it misbehaves and should suffer for its misbehaviour. That is a different thing. The charge is we did not have our borders adequately strengthened or defended. That is rather difficult to go into but it is not particularly an easy matter to defend them in the sense that it should have been defended to prevent this. In fact it is an amazingly difficult matter. In fact, it was an impossible matter in these areas. It might be possible that something might have been done, a little here and a little there. But if you just analyse the position the factual position of where our borders are, how one reaches those borders, how one can send supply to those borders, you will understand. It is an impossible position in many ways. Of course, impossible may be a strong word. We might have diverted all the energies of the nation in these days to building those roads but even then it would have taken several years, sending supplies there and all that. I cannot say. A little might have been done but even that would have been inadequate purely from the military point of view. I do not think, I speak for or against any person. That is to say it requires time to do so. I do not think it is an impossible thing to be done. But it requires time. Behind that time there should be another requirement which any country requires and that is one must have Industrial Development. It is not a question of a resolution passed at a public meeting. A country is strong in the measure of its industrial development; nothing else can make it stronger. We tried to concentrate on industrial development, as we are still trying, because that was our basis. Otherwise, with all the will in the world, we cannot defend. Why is China supposed to be strong? It is because she has tried to develop herself industrially in the last ten years by ways which we cannot and do not wish to adopt. But this raising of our strength does not mean our sending platoons, battalions and companies to far corners of the border region with which people can defend that area. However, it is possible and I am prepared to admit Dr. Kunzru's statement that we might have done more if we had concentrated on that particular thing.

Lastly, Sir, Dr. Kunzru referred to his opinion that the Defence Minister should be changed because the country generally speaking has no confidence in him. Well, if the country, has no confidence in him, presumably it has no confidence in me and the Prime Minister should change because in the kind of Government that we have, it is the Prime Minister's responsibility to choose his colleagues and nobody else's. If the Prime Minister's policy is not approved it is right that the Prime Minister must go.

### KRISHNA MENON RESIGNS

However, the attack of China on India continued. The Chinese easily crossed over the Mac Mohan Line IN NEFA and areas like Bombilla Seila were occupied. Further progress to Tejapore was being made. The people in Tejapore started vacating the town. Having heard the news, the Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru made a broadcast speech overnight almost sounding like a good-bye to Assam. The Deputy Commissioner of Tejapore who came to the Air Port to board his family in the plane to Calcutta, himself deserted Tejapore. Great confusion was created in parliamentary circles as well as in Delhi. Fear, bewilderment and confusion faced everybody in Delhi.

The author, as Convenor of the standing Committee for External Affairs soon brought the situation to the notice of the Prime Minister Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru. He asked the author to convene a meeting of the Congress Party of the parliament so that he could address the members. The Prime Minister cautioned the members and the nation to be courageous in the hour of great tragedy. He angrily roared that, that was not the way a great nation like India should behave in a crisis. He also warned that Tejapore may go, Assam may go and Calcutta may go. India will not go. Therefore, he cautioned everybody to be prepared to fight and defeat the enemy.

Next day, on November 18, 1962, the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Congress Party in Parliament under the Chairmanship of the Leader Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru was held in room No. 9 of the Parliament House, at 9.00 A.M. The House was full. Members were briefed by the leader with regard to the situation in Ladakh areas in the west, area in the centre

near Nepal border and NEFA in the East. It was a report of set back in every sector all along the 1000-mile border in the north except the Nepal border. The members having heard the disastrous situation asked the leader as a first measure to remove Sri. V.K. Krishna Menon from the defence portfolio. One member after another joined the attack, in the agitated meeting of the Executive Committee. The Leader took his stand against the attack of the members with regard to the removal of Sri. V.K. Krishna Menon from the defence portfolio. He repeated his arguments advanced in Rajya Sabha against the attack made by Dr. Kunzru the previous day. In the parliamentary system of Government, the responsibility of the conduct of functioning of every minister was that of the Prime Minister. If the house lost confidence in any minister, it was, according to Mr. Nehru, as good as losing confidence in the leader of the party. Therefore, he said he would offer to resign. The members were prompt in vehemently opposing the Leader's resignation. They said in one voice that Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru was the leader of the Congress Party and in parliament and also of the nation and that the house had implicit confidence in his leadership, but at the same time demanded the resignation of Mr. V.K. Krishna Menon. The tug-of-war went on quite for some hours until at last at 2.00 p.m. Sri. Nehru pulled out from his brief case the resignation letter which had already been submitted by Mr. V.K. Krishna Menon to the leader and placed it on the table of the House most reluctantly announcing the acceptance of his resignation.

In so doing, the Leader expressed his sadness at the turn of events. He said that was an hour of great crisis in the annals of Free India and a great danger was facing the country. Therefore, he said that was not the time for him to leave the post of honour he held even though it was not the political norm nor convention in the ordinary course of things. It is also possible, he said, that the future historian would pronounce that he ran away from the crisis if he resigned instead of facing it boldly and leading the country to final victory. Thus, the initial crisis was over and Mr. V.K. Krishna Menon was out of the cabinet and Sri. Y.B. Chavan, the then Chief Minister of Maharashtra was invited to join the cabinet as Defence Minister and sworn in on 22nd November 1962.

Meanwhile events had moved in rapid succession. China on her own chose to broadcast that she would unilaterally cease fire from midnight of the 21st/22nd of November and that they would start withdrawing their forces from the positions they occupied from the 1st of December. Everyone was surprised and puzzled as to whether the Chinese broadcasts could be true, but Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru lost no time in announcing it in parliament. The very next day the news of the Chinese broadcast spread throughout the country. The tension in Parliament and in the country was relieved.

### CHINESE CEASE FIRE NEHRU'S STATEMENT

Nehru made a statement to the House following the Chinese Cease Fire.

The Prime Minister - Shri Jawaharlal Nehru :-

Mr. Chairman, Sir, in view of certain developments that have taken place in the last few hours, I would like to make a brief statement to the House.

The Government of the People's republic of China, it appears through radio broadcasts, has announced that they will have a cease-fire from midnight of 21-22 November, and will start withdrawing their forces from the positions they occupy, from the 1st December. This is a unilateral announcement. We have thus far received no official confirmation of it. As soon as we receive any official message from the Chinese Government, we shall give it full consideration. Till then I would not like to express any opinion in regard to the Chinese proposals.

Our position in regard to any negotiations continued to be what we have previously stated, that is, that the position as it existed prior to September 8, 1962, shall be restored.

We shall continue our efforts to obtain aid from friendly countries and strengthen our country's defences and its economic potential. We would like to express again our gratitude to many friendly countries who have offered us aid and sympathy and support during the time of distress. We have

made it clear previously and we repeat it, that we have no desire for any territorial expansion in any direction and our aim is to live in peace and amity with our neighbours.

**Shri. A.B. Vajpayee :-**

Sir, in view of the Chinese offer, which could well be a deceptive offer, merely to confuse world opinion, and plunge India again into complicity, may I suggest that the decision to adjourn the present session of Parliament, on the 23rd of this month, be reversed, and that parliament should be constantly in session till this new peace offer is dealt with? Secondly, before arriving at a final decision with regard to the latest offer, May I submit that the Government should consult and should have exchange of views with all sections of public opinion so that the decision may be a national decision as such?

An Hon. Member : That will be a national decision.  
 Shri Ganga Sharan Sinha : While associating myself with what the hon.member here has said just now, I would like to say that some steps should be taken to see that this offer of the Chinese, about a cease-fire, does not create any lull or any relaxation in our efforts, either in the Government's efforts or in the public mind. Special efforts should be made for that and the necessary steps should be taken because everybody is not here. We in parliament who are sitting before the Prime Minister may know, but many people outside may have an entirely different impression. So, we should take special steps to let the country know what the Government is thinking and what the Prime Minister has said just now. This must be known to everybody in the land. Secondly, so far as our final decision is concerned, I would request the Prime Minister that before the final decision is taken, parliament should be taken into confidence. At the same time, we would request him that in making a final decision, I would personally like - and I think that all hon. members also would like - that those who have come to our aid in the hour of need should also be taken into confidence and I do hope our Prime Minister will keep these things in view.

I would also request the Prime Minister to continue this session of the parliament so that it may keep up the morale of the country and everything will be much more sober and it will

be useful from the point of view of the safety and solidarity of the country. Therefore, I suggest that this session of the parliament should continue.

**Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru :-**

I have already stated, Sir, that I do not propose at this stage to give any full reaction to the Chinese proposals. We have not received them officially, not even unofficially, but long statements issued by the Chinese Government have been heard on the radio. They require full consideration, of course, before we can have a full picture. I do not know how many hon. members have had the opportunity to listen to those long long statements. And in a matter of this kind, no Government worth its name should, without consideration, come to a decision.

Now, the decision will have to be on the lines that we have always discussed in this House. The general principles are decided by parliament and on them the Government functions. The hon. member has said that we should, before we do anything in this regard, have some kind of a public debate. This is a very remarkable suggestion which will be quite unique in diplomatic history. In a matter of this kind principles are laid down, but we cannot consider the notes we send or receive in this public or semi-public way. It would be very unusual.

As for the hon. members' suggestion that we should continue our efforts, even in the statement I just now made, I said that we shall continue our efforts to obtain aid from friendly countries and strengthen our country's defences and the economic potential of this country. All that we propose to do fully.

The hon. member also said something about consulting other countries. We are in close touch with many of our friends in other countries and we shall continue to remain in close touch. We do not propose to consult them about every decision we arrive at, every letter or note that we may send to another foreign country. But we are in close touch and we shall continue to be in close touch with them.

There is one thing more. As for the suggestion that parliament should continue to sit, that is entirely for the House and for you, Sir, to determine. But I would point out that it is not a question of two or three days extra sitting, because we may come to a provisional conclusion and it may be finalised later on, after seeing what they do. They themselves say that they will withdraw and begin withdrawing on the 1st December. I do not know whether they are going to give effect to that or in what manner they are going to give effect to it. So it may be necessary for us to see that. Apart from any provisional conclusions that we may arrive at after considering their proposals fully, it may be necessary for us to watch what they do. What I mean to say is that this is going to be not a thing which could be decided in two or three days. It may take a much longer period and in considering whether this House should continue to sit or not, that should be kept in mind.

Answering Shri. Ganga Sharan Sinha, Shri. Rajendra Pratap Sinha and other hon. Members, the Prime Minister Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru replied:-

May I point out, Sir, that when we called this session, it was to meet up to, 11th of December, or there about. It was not Government's suggestion; it was not at Government's instance that we have decided to shorten the Session, but large number of hon. Members of this House and the other House including many members of the opposition chiefly laid great stress on its being shortened. And we agreed in spite of a lot of Government work pending. I do not wish to come in the way. I may say respectfully, rightly because they wanted to go back to their constituencies and work for this very emergency that has risen. Now, I am entirely in your hands and those of the House. Government is not going to come in the way of the session being extended. It is a matter also in which perhaps you could think it desirable to consult the Speaker because whatever is done should be done for both Houses and not for a single House. What I pointed out was that probably, as you yourself were pleased to say, the extension of the House by a few days at this stage will probably not help. It had been almost decided previously that the Houses should be reconvened early in December or

middle of December. You can consider which is most suitable and decide. Government will gladly agree.

An hon. member in the back bench said something about defensive and offensive steps. I do not quite understand what he is referring to.

What I said was that we shall continue our efforts to obtain aid from friendly countries and strengthen the country's defences and its economic potential. I do not know what else he wants us to do.

From China's offer to withdraw from Indian Territory on her own, she chose to keep a rider that she will hit back as and when it suited. This threat of China was hanging on to India. This meant India should prepare herself to meet the threat as and when it came. The author wrote a letter in this connection to Prime Minister Nehru. The author's letter and Shri. Nehru's reply are herein reproduced.

**Shri Reddy's letter to  
Prime Minister Nehru.**

N. Sri Rama Reddy

122, South Avenue  
New Delhi

15.11.1962.

My Beloved Leader,

I write to thank you for your kind letter dated 24.10.62. Subsequently I have tried my best to form a picture of our present situation which is set forth below :-

- (1) At least one lakh of Chinese troops are deployed on our Borders. Considerable territory has been taken over by the enemy both in Ladakh and in the eastern sector.
- (2) "The crisis before us is such a big one that it will require all our efforts to meet it and it will probably last a long time". Your letter dated 24.10.62.

- (3) "It is very difficult for them to think of defeating us and still more difficult for us to defeat them". (Your speech in the Rajya Sabha)
- (4) "They should not be taken in by this so-called peace offensives which are merely meant to some extent to humiliate us, to strengthen their position". (Your Speech in the Rajya sabha)
- (5) "I am sorry to say that it has become impossible for us to put trust in the word of the Chinese Government". (Your speech in the Rajya Sabha)
- (6) In the General Body meeting of the party you said (7.11.62) China has not yet produced atom bomb, but they may do so in two or three years.

These together mean, according to me, Moism which new China represents and by no means Communism such as against Nehruism which refuses to produce nuclear bomb come what may and keeps to non-alignment and peaceful co-existence under all circumstances.

*Position there is :-*

- (a) Our enemy is very strong.
- (b) War lasts long.
- (c) That Chinese cannot be trusted.
- (d) It is much more difficult for us to defeat them.
- (e) Peace efforts are futile.
- (f) Atom Bomb will be manufactured by the enemy and we don't do it.

And with nuclear bomb in the hands of such a country which may, according to you, be in a position to produce one in the next one or two years, what result may ensue could be better imagined.

*So what should be the strategy?*

The problem should be solved well before nuclear bomb comes into hands of the enemy that is within one or two years. What do I mean by solving the problems? It is destroying Moism which is described above within a year or two. Is it possible to enlist the cooperation of Western Powers as well as that of Russia in this task? If U.S.A. and Russia have agreed on certain basis to solve the crisis in Cuba, a non-aligned country, does it not follow that the application of the same formula in the case of the Indian crisis would destroy Moism on the one hand and secure freedom of India and China on the other without bloodshed and all that might follow the present conflict and also without destroying democracy in India and communism in China. Kruschev's co-existence theory will also be further strengthened and established as against militant expansionism of Mao.

This is an extremely difficult task but with full of potentialities. It is my hope that very high level and carefully handled diplomacy of Nehru will drive events to this shape. How far U.N.O. could be used for this purpose is also a matter to be considered.

One assessment of Chinese present invasion is that it is a part of grand territorial design against India, Burma, East Pakistan and also Himalyan territories of Nepal, Bhutan and Sikkim. This would be very disastrous for world peace which you have cherished all your life.

Is any concerted action possible now or a little later? Let Russia cut off oil and U.S.A. threaten opening up a second front, should Mao refuse to withdraw from Indian soil and under such situation Mao's China will last but a few weeks.

With kind regards,

(N. Sri Rama Reddy)

*Yours most sincerely*



No. 587-PMO/62.

CONFIDENTIAL

New Delhi,  
November 15, 1962.

My dear Sri Rama Reddy,

Your letter of the 15th November. I think you have somewhat misunderstood me. When I said that China could not defeat us ultimately nor could we defeat China, I meant this in the ultimate sense, that is to say, India surrendering to them and their dictating terms of peace or China surrendering to us and our practically dictating terms of peace to them. It is obvious that great countries do not surrender, even though they may suffer any number of defeats, until they are completely exhausted. We are not going to and cannot march into China proper and into Peking, nor do I think that China is capable of marching to Delhi.

This does not preclude our pushing them back from Indian soil completely. Indeed I think we can do so and I hope this will be done, though it may take a little time. Nor do I mean that peace efforts are futile. What I said was that their peace offensives at present are traps for us; but peace always comes after the bloodiest war and it may well be that the pressures on China, partly due to our efforts and partly to world conditions may be such that they retire completely from our territory.

As for nuclear bomb, it is a possibility that the Chinese may have a test in a year or two. That does not mean that they can use it. They will require another several years to be in a position to use it. I do not think there is the slightest chance of such a bomb being used against India, apart from the time element. The use of such a bomb would involve all kinds of consequences which should be very serious for China.

What you suggest we should try to do in a year or two is neither feasible nor desirable except in so far as we try to drive out the Chinese from Indian soil completely. Of course much can be done to weaken China's position in other ways. Much is happening indeed and is likely to happen to that end.

Yours sincerely,

*Gandhini N. L.*

Shri N. Sri Rama Reddy, MP,  
122, South Avenue,  
New Delhi.

As per assurances given by Prime Minister Sri. Jawaharlal Nehru to both houses of parliament, aid started coming to India from all friendly countries. Mr. Kennedy came forward to announce that "SECURITY OF INDIA AS ASIA'S GREATEST DEMOCRACY MATTERED MOST TO USA" to face the Chinese aggression. Huge arms and ammunitions were flown into India by C14 Cargo Planes apart from the offer of a squadran or two of all types of planes. The entire civilized world and West European countries sympathised with India which was attacked by China started occupying Indian territory inflicting huge losses on India in men and material. Sympathetic Afro-Asian countries also were with India. Aid started coming from all over the world.

India apart from thus being encouraged, felt morally strong. She depended on Watershed theory already upheld by World Court. China could not override the treaties entered into between Tibet and India. The conduct of China all along the ages, in accepting the Sino-Indian border as affirmed by India through (1) Recognition (2) Estoppel and (3) Acquisance could not overnight be denied. Chinese claims could not prevail against the Indian Title.

Though Soviet Russia kept neutral, she showed every consideration to India's rightful stand. Mr. Kruschev, Secretary of Communist Party of Russia expressed openly that China was a brother and India was a friend thereby indicating that Sino-Indian boundary dispute should be amicably settled. French communist Party disapproved Chinese attack on India on a boundary dispute. West European countries agreed to re-equip the Division mauled by Chinese attack so that they may be in a position to bear any further attacks. Mr. Nehru sought aid from all friendly countries. The situation was that entire world opinion went against China. This is the main reason for China to offer unilateral cease-fire on the night of 21st November 1962.

China wanted to show that they were high up in the short war. And with her known deceit and pride so great, she on her own offered cease fire and withdrawal of her forces without anybody suggesting them to do. What is more, China threw out a threat she would in future, hit back at her chosen moment if she so felt.

Shri Nehru's letter quoted above prophesies that "it is a possibility that the Chinese may have a test in a year or two". How true he was in his estimate of China's capacity in conducting a nuclear test within a year or two! (China actually conducted the test on 16th October 1964.)

The author was prompted to write a letter to the Prime Minister on the Chinese cease fire etc, which is reproduced with the reply of the Prime Minister.

**SHRI REDDY'S LETTER TO  
PRIME MINISTER NEHRU**

N. Sri Rama Reddy, B.Sc (agri)

122, South Avenue,  
New Delhi

Dated 2nd December , 1962.

*My Beloved Leader,*

Jai Hind.

The immediate problem is the cease fire and terms offered by China. Shall we accept them? The emphatic "no" is the answer given already in many forms.

Shall we reject them. A threat has been out by the Prime Minister of China that "should India refuse to cooperate even the cease fire which has been effected is liable to be upset."

Shall we keep quiet maintaining the present positions? China has in any case threatened to "strike back" in what they choose to call "self defence" if we did not withdraw 20 kilometers from the actual line of control as on 7th November, 1958, in west and middle sectors which is the same as the line they are occupying after inflicting very many defeats on us in our 43 check posts.

Have they left anything for negotiations? Nothing but the question of extent of withdrawals, setting up of check posts under civil control and P.O.Ws

Today's announcement in papers says that our government has decided that civil administration will take over areas vacated

by Chinese in NEFA and Indian patrols will move forward as soon as Chinese pull back. Here may be a chance for the unscrupulous enemy to find an excuse to bring about an out-break of fighting which we do not want just now. With proposed talks with Pakistan on Kashmir and other matters, military equipment on way to India from friendly countries, and the process of regrouping of our forces in various sectors we are having good many irons in the fire. If enemy's intentions are to attack and hit back let him do so in Ladak and middle sector for which we must be ready. The world will have a proof of our enemy's intentions without our having to tell them so. This will only mean greater sympathy and support to us and condemnation of China.

We need be in no great hurry to reoccupy the areas vacated by China in NEFA. Reoccupation can be done at our chosen time.

With kind regards.

Yours most sincerely,  
Sri Rama Reddy

Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru,  
Prime Minister of India,  
New Delhi.

P.S.

Having written this letter on 2nd December I was hesitating to submit the same to you; but yesterday's answers to short notice questions in Lok Sabha envisaged certain amount of discussion with China. But can we not wait to full extent of withdrawals by China before the subject of reoccupation and another subjects are mooted in a military sense if not by direct talks?

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 621-PMO/62.

New Delhi,  
December 3, 1962.

Dear Shri Sri Rama Reddy,

I have your letter of 2nd December. Tomorrow there will be a discussion in the Lok Sabha about the Chinese aggression and our broad policy concerning it. You are right in saying that we cannot accept the Chinese proposals as framed. We have put forward our counter proposals which are simple and which amount to the position on the 8th September, 1962, being restored.

I do not yet know what their answer will be. Soon also the Colombo meeting of some countries will take place and their recommendations may have some influence on the situation.

While we are unable to accept the Chinese proposals, we have no desire to break the cease-fire or to take any offensive military action at present. We shall see how the situation develops and, meanwhile, we shall go on strengthening ourselves.

Yours sincerely,

Jayashankar Naidu,

Shri N. Sri Rama Reddy, M.P.,  
122, South Avenue,  
New Delhi.

In the meanwhile good and peace loving people of the world did not sit quiet. A group of goodly leaders from Ceylon, United Arab Republic, Ghana, Indonesia and Combodia met together on 10th December 1962 at Colombo to devise ways and means of bringing about peaceful solution to Sino-Indian dispute. At last they arrived at the following solution. They are called Colombo Proposals. These proposals together with clarifications given to the Indian Prime Minister by Ceylon, U.A.R. and Ghana are quoted below :-

Proposals of the Conference of six non-aligned nations held at Colombo (10th to 12th December 1962).

1. The Conference considers that the existing de facto cease fire period is a good starting point for a peaceful settlement of the India Chinese conflict.
2. (a) With regard to the Western Sector, the Conference would like to make an appeal to the Chinese Government to carry out their 20 kilometres withdrawal of their military posts as has been proposed in the letter of Prime Minister Chou En Lai to Prime Minister Nehru of November 21 and November 28, 1962.  
 (b) The Conference would make an appeal to the Indian Government to keep their existing military position.  
 (c) Pending a final solution of the border dispute, the area vacated by the Chinese military withdrawals will be a demilitarized zone to be administered by civilian posts of both sides to be agreed upon, without prejudice to the rights of the previous presence of both India and Chin in that area.
3. With regard to the Eastern Sector, the Conference considers that the line of actual control in the areas recognised by both the Governments could serve as a cease-fire line to their respective positions. Remaining areas in this sector can be settled in their future discussions.
4. With regard to the problems of the middle Sector, the Conference suggests that they will be solved by peaceful means without resorting to force.

5. The Conference believes that these proposals, which could help in consolidating the cease-fire, once implemented, should pave the way for discussions between representatives of both parties for the purpose of solving problems entailed in the cease-fire position.

6. The Conference would like to make it clear that a positive response for the proposed appeal will not prejudice the position of either of the two Governments as regards its conception of the final alignment of the boundaries.

Upon request from the Government of India, the following clarifications of paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of the Colombo Conference proposals were given by the Delegations of Ceylon, U.A.R. and Ghana:

### Western Sector

- (i) The withdrawal of Chinese forces proposed by the Colombo Conference will be 20 kilometres as proposed by Prime Minister Chou-En-Lai to Prime Minister Nehru in the statement of the Chinese Government dated 21st November and in Prime Minister Chou-En-Lai's letter of 28th November, 1962, i.e. from the line of actual control between the two sides as of November 7, 1959, as defined in maps III and V circulated by the Government of China.
- (ii) The existing military posts which the forces of the Government of India will keep to will be on and upto the line indicated in (i) above.
- (iii) The demilitarised zone of 20 kilometres created by Chinese military withdrawals will be administered by civilian posts of both sides. This is a substantive part of the Colombo Conference proposals. It is as to the location, the number of posts and their composition that there has to be an agreement between the two Government sof India and China.

## Eastern Sector

The Indian forces can, in accordance with the Colombo Conference proposals, move right upto the south of the line of actual control, i.e. the McMahon Line, except for the two areas on which there is difference of opinion between the Governments of India and China. The Chinese forces similarly can move right upto the north of the McMahon Line except for these two areas. The two areas referred to as the remaining areas in the Colombo Conference proposals, arrangements in regard to which are to be settled between the Governments of India and China, according to the Colombo Conference proposals, are Chedong or the Thagla ridge area and the Longju area, in which cases there is a difference of opinion as to the line of actual control between the two Governments.

## Middle Sector

The Colombo Conference desired that the status quo in this sector should be maintained and neither side should do anything to disturb the status quo.

New Delhi,  
January 13, 1963.

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The Colombo proposals were accepted in toto by India after discussing the same in both Houses of parliament while China chose to accept them in principle. This meant a conditional acceptance. Her rider that she would hit back India at her chosen moment while offering cease-fire, shows her prevarication. So she did accept Colombo proposals in principle choosing to keep her options open.

The reservations thus made by China to Colombo Conference proposals were not acceptable to India. China started inviting India for discussions for settlement of remaining points of dispute through letters and correspondence. But Indian Prime Minister insisted that acceptance of Colombo Conference Proposals was absolutely necessary before any negotiations could be started. Two such letters are reproduced below for the benefit of the readers to appreciate the stand each country took in the matter.

Letter from the Chinese Prime Minister Chou-En-Lai to Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister :-

(TRANSLATION)

His Excellency Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru,  
Prime Minister of the  
Republic of India, New Delhi.

Peking, March 3, 1963.

Your Excellency respected Prime Minister,

The Chinese Government has in its note of March 2, 1963 officially informed the Indian Government that the Chinese frontier guards have completed their plan of withdrawing 20 kilometres from the line of actual control as of November 7, 1959 along the entire Sino-Indian border in accordance with the Chinese Government's statement of November 21, 1962. The Chinese Government has in the same note informed the Indian Government of the locations where it has established civilian check-posts within the 20-kilometres zone on its side of the line of actual control and that it has vacated the four areas where there is a dispute about the cease-fire arrangement. I am now writing to Your Excellency to propose once again that the two sides should speedily start direct negotiations on stabilization of the cease-fire, disengagement and a peaceful settlement of the boundary question.

In order to stop the border conflict, reopen peaceful negotiations and settle the boundary question, the Chinese Government has made unremitting efforts. Only four days after the outbreak of the border conflict, it put forward three peaceable proposals which are fair and reasonable. On November 21, 1962 it announced the measures of cease-fire and withdrawal adopted on its own initiative. China has released sick and wounded captured Indian military personnel and returned large quantities of captured weapons and military supplies of the Indian troops. The Chinese Government has responded positively to the appeal of the Colombo Conference and accepted in principle the proposals of the Conference as a basis for direct negotiations between

China and India. In order to promote direct Sino-Indian negotiations, the Chinese Government has done all that is possible for it to do.

The 20-kilometres withdrawal of the Chinese frontier guards from the line of actual control has put them far behind their positions as of September 8, 1962. Moreover, the Chinese Government has further decided to refrain from establishing civilian check-posts in the four areas where there is a dispute about the cease-fire arrangement. All these actions on the part of China have created for direct Sino-Indian negotiations the necessary conditions in conformity with the dignity and self-respect of both sides, and first of all with that of the Indian side.

Therefore, I do not think there should be any more reason to delay the holding of talks between Chinese and Indian officials. As for the fact that there is a difference between the two sides in the way they interpret the Colombo Conference proposals, it can well be discussed and resolved in the talks and should not constitute an obstacle to the opening of the talks. China reserves its two points of interpretation of the Colombo proposals, but does not make their acceptance a pre-condition for the opening of the talks. I believe that, no matter what difference there may be between the two sides, they can be settled reasonably in the talks provided both sides have the sincere desire to stabilize the cease-fire, disengage the troops and settle the boundary question peacefully.

The Chinese Government's stand for direct Sino-India negotiations will not change. But if the Indian Government, owing to the needs of its internal and external politics, is not yet prepared to hold such meetings, the Chinese Government is willing to wait with patience. Now, thanks to the initiative and efforts of the Chinese side, there exist a de facto cease-fire and a de facto disengagement along our border. Even if the officials' meeting between the two sides is not held for the time being, the already eased border situation will not become tense again provided the Indian side refrains from making provocations again and from re-entering the four areas where there is a dispute about the cease-fire arrangement.

The participating nations of the Colombo Conference and all other peace-loving countries hope to see direct Sino-Indian negotiations, and they hope even more ardently that the Sino-Indian border situation will remain relaxed. In 1959 the Chinese frontier guards stopped border patrols for the purpose of relaxing the border situation, but the consequences were contrary to China's expectations. Now, the Chinese Government has again made tremendous efforts. It hopes that history will not be repeated. If unfortunately it should be repeated, the Chinese Government believes that the whole world will be able to see even more clearly than before who should be held responsible for the tension along the Sino-Indian border.

Respected Mr. Prime Minister, it is unfortunate that armed clashes should have broken out on the Sino-Indian border. Use of force can settle no question between us. And the Sino-Indian boundary question will have to be settled peacefully in the end. I sincerely hope that you will respond favourably to the Chinese Government's proposal.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

(Signed) Chou-En-Lai  
Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China.

Reply from Nehru to Chou-En-Lai, the Chinese Prime Minister,  
for his above letter.

New Delhi  
March 5, 1963.

*Dear Mr. Prime Minister,*

Thank you for your letter of 3rd March handed over to the Indian Charge d' Affaires in Peking. He has telegraphed the text of your letter as well as of the Chinese Government's note of March 2. Your Charge d' Affaires in Delhi also gave copies of these communications to our Foreign Office on the evening of the 3rd.

We have noted the action taken by the Government of China in implementation of their unilateral declaration regarding

cease-fire and withdrawals of November 21, 1962. As you know, so far as this declaration is concerned, the Government of India's attitude was communicated to the Government of China in my letter of 1st December 1962 addressed to you and in the note handed over by the Ministry of External Affairs to your Charge d' Affaires in Delhi on 19th December 1962.

Since then, as Your Excellency is aware, the six non-aligned Afro-Asian countries met at Colombo on December 10, 1962, to consider what recommendations, honourable to both sides, they might make to resolve the differences between India and China. The discussions of the Colombo Conference countries resulted in the unanimous adoption by the Conference of the Colombo Conference Proposals which were communicated both to you and to me and later personally explained by the Hon'ble Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, during her visit to China from 1st to 9th January 1963 and her visit to Delhi from 10th to 14th January, 1963.

The Colombo Conference Proposals as explained by the Hon'ble Sirimavo R.D. Bandaranaike, Prime Minister of Ceylon, during her visit to Delhi were placed before our parliament and, after consideration of the proposals in Parliament, I informed the Ceylon Prime Minister that the Government of India accept the Colombo Conference Proposals and the clarifications given by the Ceylon Prime Minister during her visit to Delhi in toto. This was on 26th January. I mentioned in this communication that further action to implement the Colombo Conference Proposals by direct discussions between India and China of the various points left over for settlement between the two parties concerned can only be taken up after the Government of China have similarly accepted the Colombo Conference Proposals without any reservations. The Government of India have since then been waiting for a communication from the Ceylon Prime Minister about acceptance of the Colombo Conference proposals by the Government of China.

You have stated in your message that "the Chinese Government has responded positively to the appeal of the Colombo Conference and accepted in principle the proposals of the Conference as a basis for direct negotiations between China and India". This does not constitute an acceptance of the

Colombo Conference Proposals by China without reservations as China still reserves its two points of interpretation of the Colombo Conference Proposals.

I regret I cannot understand your claim that "in order to promote direct Sino-Indian negotiations, the Chinese Government has done all that is possible for it to do". The obvious thing, if the Government of China are sincere in their professions regarding peaceful settlement, is to accept the Colombo Conference Proposals without reservations just as the Government of India have done. We can go to the second stage of talks and discussions only thereafter.

It is because of the sincere desire of the Government of India to settle the boundary question peacefully that we accepted the Colombo Conference Proposals without any reservations and did not insist on the position stated in my letter of 1st December to you. The Government of China, on the other hand, do not still accept the Colombo Conference Proposals without reservations and insist on unilateral implementation of the Chinese Government's statement of November 21, 1962. This is the only obstacle to the next step of talks and discussions to implement the Colombo Conference Proposals with a view to the creation of the appropriate climate for resolving peacefully the differences between India and China on the boundary question.

As you are already aware, I stated in parliament on 10th December, 1962 that "I am prepared, when the time comes, provided there is approval of parliament, even to refer the basic dispute of the claims on the frontier to an international body like the International Court of Justice at The Hague". There could be no fairer and more reasonable approach than this proposal for peaceful resolving of our differences, once the appropriate climate is created.

You have, in your letter, referred to four areas where there is a dispute about cease-fire arrangements. There is no dispute, so far as the Government of India are concerned, with the Colombo Conference Proposals in respect of these four areas. The dispute if any is the one raised by the Government of China with the Colombo Conference countries by their reservations on

the Colombo Conference Proposals. Once these reservations are dropped, the Governments of India and China can undertake direct talks and discussions to settle the cease-fire arrangements for the Thagla Ridge area and Longju in the Eastern sector, the maintenance of the status quo in the Middle sector and the question of establishment of civilian posts of both sides in the demilitarised zone of 20 kilometres in the Western sector as required under the Colombo Conference Proposals.

I hope that the Government of China will, on fuller consideration, decide to comply with the unanimous recommendation of the Colombo Conference countries and accept the Colombo Conference Proposals without any reservations. We can then, go on to the next stage of talks and discussions for implementation of those proposals and create the appropriate atmosphere of peace in the border areas to enable us to make a further attempt to resolve peacefully the differences between India and China on the boundary question.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Sd/-JAWAHARLAL NEHRU  
Prime Minister and Minister of  
External Affairs,  
Government of India.

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China's withdrawal of 20 kilometres from their military position in the western sector did not mean much. The territory thus vacated was obviously India's. Moreover this territory could be occupied and administered by both the disputants through civilian posts, Indian forces remaining where they were driven to by Chinese aggression. Vast areas of Indian territory like Aksai-Chin area where Chinese had clandestinely built a road and several other areas are in illegal possession of China.

In the Eastern Sector the withdrawal of Chinese forces which had almost come upto Tejpur meant Chinese forces going north of Mac-Mohan line. Even here claim is retained in respect of Thagla Ridge and Longju areas.

Under these circumstances India resolved not to participate in mutual discussions until and unless China accepted Colombo Conference proposals in toto as India had done.

Frequent invitations extended by China to India for negotiations of the boundary dispute were turned down by Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru as is clear from the two letters quoted above.

During the discussion of the Colombo Proposals in the Parliament, the opposition, mainly Swatantra Party, raised a question if in course of time what is cease fire today may not turn out to be a perpetual boundary for China. The author wrote a letter to Prime Minister on this subject, which is reproduced below. Though the Prime Minister did not reply, the author's letter pointed out to a probability.

**Letter to Nehru on the Congress and opposition stand in Parliament on the Colombo Proposals.**

N. Sri Rama Reddy  
B.Sc., (Agri)

122, South Avenue, New Delhi.  
Dated 27th January 1963.

My Beloved Leader,

Discussion in Parliament on the Colombo Proposals took 2 turns :-

**(a) Congress stand**

Limited purpose of consolidation of cease fire and preparation for talks on merits.

**(b) Opposition stand**

Judging from China's perfidious and expansionist attitude, the ceasefire line will get frozen and it may turn out to be 'partnership' in perpetuity with China.

Both the stands are honest and both may be correct. Politically, militarily and diplomatically the congress stand was advantageous to India. We have agreed to hold talks probably after settling the issues like setting up civil posts, POWs and a few other minor matters and thereafter we may have to go to the table to start negotiations on border disputes. Of course talks will be started only in the advent of China agreeing in toto to the

Colombo Proposals with subsequent clarifications given to India by Colombo conference powers.

Now I pray that necessary wisdom might dawn on the present leadership of China to be honest in their dealings with us. But their past behaviour does not admit hopes of this kind to be entertained. You know this better than anybody else. Every good and noble gesture of yours towards China was reciprocated by stab in your back. So only the bravest among us could prophesise a successful outcome of the intended negotiations, if and when they are held.

In any case, durable peace with China cannot be purchased at any price. You were probably sharing the inner most secrets of your heart with your Executive Committee when you said "not all the American might will terminate China from Aksai Chin road area".

So apart from the advantages we have derived our present discussions where broadly the Parliament has given you the authorisation to start talks on the basis of acceptance of the Colombo proposals which even otherwise you had, a situation peculiarly disadvantageous to our party vis-a-vis the stand of the opposition parties — particularly the Swantantra Party. For, the failure of talks or secession of territory and re-adjustment of our boundaries only one of which is possible, will make opposition leaders greater heroes and patriots. We have seen such competition in patriotism during our discussions. I am now wondering if this debate was necessary at all. Do you think our present stand will or will not place our organisation at disadvantage a little later? If it does, how should we meet it?

With kind regards,

Yours most sincerely,  
Sd/- N. Sri Rama Reddy

Shri, Jawaharlal Nehru,  
Prime Minister  
New Delhi.

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Answering question 540 in Rajya Sabha the defence Minister admitted that the Chinese plane penetrated 60 miles

deep into Indian Territory. This was disturbing indeed. Knowing as we do China's intentions and attitudes in the past the author took up this question of our defence in the high altitudes against Chinese attempt to probe or penetrate into Indian territory, through a letter dated September 13, 1963, Though a reply has not been received - (probably it was too complicated for a reply), the letter is reproduced below.

**AUTHOR'S LETTER TO THE PRIME MINISTER ON CHINESE PENETRATION INTO INDIAN TERRITORY**

N. Sri Rama Reddy,  
B.Sc., (Agri)

122, South Avenue New Delhi.  
September 13, 1963.

My Beloved Leader,

Yesterday (12.9.63) answering question No.540 in Rajya Sabha the Defence Minister admitted Chinese plane having penetrated 60 miles deep into Indian territory and answering supplimentaries he stated:

- (1) orders to shoot Chinese aircraft intruding into Indian territory had been issued.
- (2) But this particular aircraft flew 42,000 ft. high and the whole flight took a few minutes and therefore, impliedly he admitted:
  - (a) That high altitude planes cannot be shot down by us unless we have our planes constantly in the air.
  - (b) That we have no defence for surprise - few-minutes intrusions by Chinese airforce from the ground.
  - (c) That Chinese can choose to violate our territory by air penetration all along the border without fear of being shot down in hit and run methods.
  - (d) That Chinese are having more powerful planes.

May I humbly ask what is the stage of installations of radar and communication equipment and what is the follow up

defence arrangement after radar installation. What about suitable weapons and ammunition to deal with high altitude aircraft and personnel and training. In spite of Defence Minister's assurances that any inference to the contrary was untenable, we are left somewhat in doubt.

In the context of reported secret military pact between Pakistan and China and superior aircraft and missiles said to have been possessed by Pakistan and their declaration of unfriendly attitude to USA, I am led to believe much is left to be done in our air defence arrangements on both the borders which may come to three or four thousand miles.

Except joint air exercises and proposed manufacture of MIGs we do not know anything more of our defences. But this much was revealed yesterday by Defence Minister that we are not able to deal with high altitude aircraft of the enemy suddenly intruding and disappearing. I discretely restrained myself from putting any more supplementaries lest I should embarrass the Government. I am only anxious to know we are not as weak as the implications of the answers showed.

With kindest personal regards,

Yours most sincerely,

(N. Sri Rama Reddy)

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,  
Leader,  
Congress Party in Parliament.

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### **What enables India to talk to China?**

After the Colombo Proposals came into operation India became reluctant to make any move for talks with China on the border question. This state of affairs continued for nearly 2 years after cease fire. At this stage the question of a move to start talking with China came into operation. The author took up this question with the Prime Minister through a letter as to what possibility was there to break the silence with China. Though author's letter is missing, the Prime Minister's reply is produced below.

## NEHRU'S LETTER TO THE AUTHOR

No.228-PMH/64

Prime Minister's House,  
New Delhi.

April 15, 1964.

My Dear Reddy,

Your letter of the 31st March, I have not read the letter which appeared in The Hindu about Kashmir.

As regards our policy towards China, I spoke on the subject in the Lok Sabha the other day. Our position is quite clear. If the Chinese withdraw their seven posts from the demilitarised zone in Ladakh, that may be a sufficient fulfilment of the Colombo proposals to enable us to have further talks with them. The proposal must come from China, and not through others.

*Yours sincerely,*

*Jawaharlal Nehru*

Shri. N. Sri. Rama Reddy, M.P.,  
28 Madhav Nagar,  
Bangalore.

The situation bound as India was with countries not very favourable to us, our position became irksome. So a policy suited to this situation had to be framed and acted upon. The author through a letter drew the attention of the leader to this aspect. Hence the following letter was addressed to the leader for which a reply also was received. Both the letter and the reply have been reproduced below.

### Letter to Nehru on increasing external threat to India.

N. Sri Rama Reddy,

24th March 1963

My Beloved Leader,

I had to leave Delhi a little before the Rajya Sabha came to a close on account of my wife's illness from which she is fast

recovering now. I regret my unavoidable absence and beg of you to pardon me for taking your valuable time through this letter.

Sino-Pakistan border pact is the latest major change that has taken place in our relations in international affairs.

Ceylon has developed troubles with USA and seems to be more inclined to please China than agree to show a small gesture to India by way of permitting remetting of small amounts collected by people of Indian origin there for the NDF. Burma's attitude is, if we may say so, more pro-Chinese than pro-Indian.

Nepal has been showing fists to us and it is our hope that the recent visit of our Home Minister has removed some of the misunderstanding and we may look forward with hope to the ensuing visit of the King of Nepal to our country next month.

Thus India is encircled today starting from Pakistan in the West whose Foreign Minister says he will never join India against China, to Nepal in the North by countries none too friendly to us. The other South-Eastern countries are deeply involved in their own quarrels, most of them engineered by China. Thus there is a hazy political shadow cast all over the South-East Asian countries.

China is attempting to make this region what East European region is to Russia. I do not know if we have any other policy than the one we have followed so far in respect of this region while China is proceeding with her aggressive salesmanship. The visit of Smt. Laxmi Menon to Laos now is very timely and shall I hope this is to mark our new approach to this area?

Now in your recent Rohtak speech you are reported to have said 'the future of Asia and its progress were linked with Sino-Indian conflict. The outcome of this conflict would shape the history of Asia. On dealing with China, therefore, India has a special responsibility not only to itself but to other Asian countries also.' Would it be correct to read into this a meaning of new approach to Asia, a positive approach of befriending?

Is Dalai Lama's latest and first statement on Tibet a forerunner of this policy?

President Kennedy answering a question whether there would be a re-assessment of reduction of American aid to South-East Asian countries arising out of Mansfield's report, is stated to have replied 'I do not see how we are going to be able, unless we are going to pull out of South-East Asia and turn it over to the communists, to reduce very much our economic programmes and military assistance programmes in South Vietnam, Cambodia and Thailand. I think we ought to judge the economic burden it places upon us as opposed to having communist control all over South-East Asia with the inevitable effect that this would have on the security of India and therefore really begin to run perhaps all the way towards Middle East".

Therefore President Kennedy's assessment is that he chooses to link up security of India with that of the rest of Asia.

The rapidly changing scene in the Middle East I hope is strengthening our stand.

Broadly speaking USA and Western Europe are endorsing our stand while USSR has a slant in our favour so far as her neutrality is concerned.

Let alone Pakistan her policy is to hurt India. But there seems to be a need for more dynamic approach to others. I read into your Rhotak speech a new meaning and new approach, I understand many others do this.

Your recent Bombay speech read with yesterday's statement in Lok Sabha has created an impression here in Bangalore that another attack by China that has been brought about by adventurism of Mao's China? The country should also be informed of this situation which is a feather in the crown of your foreign policy.

Our cause is just and so success must be ours "However long and arduous the struggle might be".

With my sincerest Ugadi greetings and kindest regards,

Yours most sincerely,

Sd/- N. Sri Rama Reddy

Sri. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,  
Prime Minister,  
Government of India, New Delhi

## NEHRU'S REPLY TO AUTHOR'S LETTER

CONFIDENTIAL

No. 157-PMO/63  
New Delhi.]

April 2, 1963.

My Dear Shri Rama Reddy,

I received your letter of 24th March sometime ago. You have discussed the situation in South East Asia. It has always been our policy to develop friendly relations with these countries of South East Asia. But, of course, there are many other pressures at work and China has exercised some of these pressures. The methods she employs are somewhat different from ours and it is difficult for us to compete with her on those lines.

The Dalai Lama's recent statement was not issued after consultations with us and it does not represent any basic change in our policy.

It is difficult to say what China may do. There is always a chance of their renewing the attack, but this does not appear to be very likely in the near future.

For us our objective is to strengthen ourselves as much as possible and try to be prepared for any contingency that might arise.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru.

Shri. N. Sri Rama Reddy  
122, South Avenue  
New Delhi

## CHAPTER - 4

### MAKING INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

"No solution, good or bad should be imposed  
by war or threat of war"

— League of Nations

Changes of far reaching consequences have taken place in the political situation of the world during October last. The shock and surprise caused by changes in the government in Moscow followed by explosion of atom bomb by China were relieved to a certain extent by the success of Labour Government in UK and Democrats in USA in the recent elections. The suddenness and the quick succession in which these changes have taken place have stunned many nations. An assessment of what these changes mean to countries individually and collectively particularly to developing countries of Asia and Africa as also Latin America is a matter of great importance. These changes have a great bearing on the Indian political situation particularly on the stalemate reached with China in her border dispute. The aggression committed by China on India during October - November 1962 and annexation of Indian territory by China and consequent dispute remains unsolved in spite of good intentioned proposals of Colombo powers, mainly due to intransigence of China. Her threatening military posture is a fact of life. Such a country which China is has come to possess an atom Bomb. This is a major change which has a very significant political and military bearing on India. Mr. Khruschev till recently the head of the Russian Government was a great friend of India and has been removed from power and new government is installed in Russia.

We in India should carefully analyse the various happenings in the world and assess what these changes mean to us and to the world abroad and how we should make our foreign policy in relation to the changes that have taken place.

India's foreign policy as was evolved by the late Prime Minister Sri. Jawaharlal Nehru, the Architect of Modern India is based on the following fundamental tenets.

- (1) World Peace.
- (2) Non-alignment
- (3) Peaceful co-existence with countries of different social and political systems.
- (4) Consolidation of peace and development of friendship and international cooperation.
- (5) Relaxation of international tension through
  - i. Strengthening UNO
  - ii. Disarmament.
  - iii. Support to newly independent countries.
  - iv. Secure freedom for the subject nations.

India's foreign policy cannot be considered in isolation. Therefore the principles laid out above have got to be examined in relation to the attitudes and policies of the Big Powers particularly of USA, Russia and Great Britain as also that of China which has joined or about to join the nuclear club. Let us therefore discuss the feasibility of these principles vis-a-vis the rest of the world particularly the super powers, USA and USSR.

### 1) World Peace

It is admitted on all hands that world peace is the greatest need for the human prosperity and happiness. Barring China no Country speaks against peace. Every nation wants peace including the super powers, in spite of massive destructive weapons. This was demonstrated during the 1962 Cuba's confrontation. Though Cuba was an aligned country where Russian missile bases of immense destructive power had been established and when challenged by USA in the Caribbean sea by her blockade, a surprise detente was soon established between USA and USSR on the basis of withdrawal of all

missiles by the latter from Cuba while the former agreed to guarantee the freedom of Cuba without interference. This was an unique instance of saving world peace. Both super powers demonstrated their desire to preserve peace in the world. Peace was given preference over prestige. The world breathed a sigh of relief. The subsequent happenings like establishment of Hot Line between Moscow and Washington, the partial test ban treaty, unilateral reduction in military budgets of these two super powers and cut backs in fissionable material and convening of United Nations Conference on trade and development as also the prolonged deliberations of disarmament conference are very significant happenings towards the honest attempts of all the powers—big and small—in the world to preserve peace. Peace is a commodity now earnestly sought after by nations, families and individuals. The alternative to peace is under the present context of nuclear power, the annihilation of the human race. The only country that does not want peace is China. China therefore is isolated on the score of world peace. With reference to Sino-Indian border dispute, India has accepted the Colombo proposals in toto with the sole desire of honouring her commitment to world peace. China has not accepted these proposals from friendly countries of China as well as of India. The attitude of India with regard to world peace has been amply demonstrated through all her independent life since 1947 in all the world crises be it Korea, Suez, Congo or Indo China without fear or favour.

The military posture of China on our Himalayan borders on flimsy grounds has disturbed world peace. China has not taken into consideration the settled borders of her ancient friend like India in her greed for territory. Border sanctified of history, geography and custom, and treaty are violated.

It is not only in the case of Indian border but all along her border she has raked up disputes. This dispute has been extended to the borders with USSR also. Sino Soviet frontiers run nearly 6,000 miles from Pamirs to the Amour river. China has claimed vast territories from Russia denouncing the prior treaties entered into between these two countries at least a century before. They have started calling these well established treaties as "unequal treaties".

Pravda has described the policy of New China Republic as "great power Chauvanism and Hegemonism" aimed at India and USSR with great recklessness. Khurchev, the late Prime Minister of USSR warned the Chinese leaders that "it would be very dangerous for anyone to try to enlarge its territory now. It would be a criminal undertaking. Every frontier now has its history". China wants to disturb these settled borders which could only be done at the cost of world peace.

Not satisfied with these border troubles raked up Peking has launched a dangerous game in Africa. They have been trying their best to upset the existing regimes in the newly independent African countries with a view to instal regimes favourable to themselves so as to create satellites in the African continent. This was revealed by the Chinese diplomat Mr. Tung Chih Ping who defected from the Chinese Embassy in Burundi. This diplomat has revealed that China's policy is "If we grab the Congo, we grab whole of Africa". The long visit of Mr. Chou-En-Lai to Africa was towards this end of planning subversions. "Revolutionary prospects are excellent throughout African continent" was the final summation of Prime Minister of China after his African tour. Thus it is evident that promotion of violence and coaos and disturbance of peace is the prominent Peking's game in Africa. The world has to take notice of this new "Chauvanism and Hegemonism" of China which is out to disturb the peace of the world. China alone of all countries today stands out as an enemy of peace.

## 2) Non-alignment.

Khurchev till recently the Prime Minister of Russia respected non-alignment policy of India. Though at the early stages of adoption of non-alignment policy by Mr. Nehru on behalf of free India, suspicion was raised by USA and other Western powers, they have today come to realise the importance of the policy of non-alignment for world peace and progress. The number of nations swearing non-alignment has been swelling year after year. There were only 25 countries in the first Non-alignment Conference which was convened in Belgrade in 1961. Since then the area of non-alignment in the world has extended so much that during the second conference of non-aligned countries held recently in Cairo there were as

many as 58 nations all swearing by non-alignment. "Thanks to the combined efforts of forces of freedom, peace and progress, the principles of non-alignment are becoming increasingly dynamic and powerful forces for the promotion of peace and welfare of human kind" was the clarion call issued out by the conference in their final communique. The new leadership of USSR after the over-throw of Khurchev recently has also promised that basic foreign and home policy worked out from 1956 in their 20th, 21st, and 22nd Congress "was, is and will be sole and unchangeable line". Therefore Russia's attitude towards the policy of non-alignment will remain unaltered. So are the policies of the Democratic party of USA, the nominee of whom was recently elected to the Presidential gadi with overwhelming majority. The success of Labour Party in the recent general elections in UK shows a great promise towards further cementing the forces of non-alignment in the world.

Non-alignment has been denounced by China. The present rulers of China did their best to sabotage the first non-alignment conference of Belgrade. Their attempt to disrupt and undermine the second non-alignment conference at Cairo is not unknown in world politics today. China is therefore a confirmed enemy of non-alignment. China exploded her nuclear device only to show out her might against the world that believed in non-alignment. This explosion of nuclear device is according to China, said to be for defence of Chinese policies. It can therefore be derived that this explosion of nuclear device is aimed at non-alignment in world politics.

The Chinese government in a note sent to USSR on September first, last year reveals not only their attitude towards non-alignment but their attitude towards maintenance of world peace. The note reveals "in fighting imperialism we are of the opinion that strategically and with regard to the whole, one must despise the enemy dare to struggle against him and dare to seize victory..... if one does not take full account of the enemy tactically and is heedless and reckless while strategically one dares not despise the enemy, it is inevitable that one will commit the error of adventurism in tactics and error of capitulationism in strategy". It is also evident from this why China has exploded the atom device.

The question that immediately concerns India is whether the explosion of nuclear device by China has created any situation for changing her policy of non-alignment. The answer is a definite NO. Supposing for the sake of an argument we change our policy of non-alignment, we have to be aligned with either USA or USSR. If we join American block we will be forcing Russia to join China. Probably the trend after Khruschev's fall is even more prone for such an event to take place. Peace in the world will be the first casualty in such a situation. If we join Russia the position will be that USA will have inimical towards us. In that event it will be a declared success to Mao's China policy. It is now evident that one of the objects of Chinese aggression on India during October 1962 was to push India into the lap of Western world particularly USA. This game of China failed miserably.

On the other hand if we are non aligned, USA and Russia will continue to assist us with food, fibre and military hardware and also various aids in the form of loans and grants. The practical question to be considered is whether China proposes to use nuclear weapons against India.

The author had the privilege of taking up this question with the late Prime Minister Sri. Jawaharlal Nehru in a letter addressed to him on 15.11.62. The reply of late lamented Sri. Jawaharlal Nehru to this letter was "I do not think there is the slightest chance of such a bomb being used against India apart from time element. The use of such a bomb would involve all kinds of consequences which should be very serious to China".

USA and Russia are both signatories to Test Ban Treaty. In the wake of explosion of nuclear device by China, President Johnson of USA has offered nuclear umbrella to all those that need it. President Johnson laid down a blunt warning to China in his promise that "the USA would extend its strong support to any non nuclear nation threatened by nuclear blackmail". He is also stated to have said "in such a world as this — a nuclear world - there is no room for bluster and bluff and belligerence. War would mean not total victory but total devastation and the survivors would be jealous of the dead".

The reaction of Russia is as follows:-

Russia's new leaders today call for a complete ban on all types of nuclear weapons test. This is enough to show that the new leaders of Russia condemned China for her explosion of atom bomb. The slogans heard in Russia under the new leadership are -

1. Complete ending of all types of tests of nuclear weapons, for general and complete disarmament for a stable peace on earth. Here stable peace means - China would not escape the consequences of her use of nuclear bombs on India or any other country. This also means a suggestion for China to join international ban on all types of nuclear weapon testing.
2. Call for development and strengthening of friendship and cooperation among the peoples of Britain, USA, France and Soviet Union.
3. There is a hint that new leaders in Russia would not like the spread of disruption among socialist countries which China is preaching. This can be seen in the call they have issued to "The peoples of socialist countries, the international workers movement, peoples engaged in national struggles and all anti-imperialist forces in a call to unite in a common cause".

L.B. Shastri — Those that play with fire will get themselves burnt. If Russia withdrew all her missiles from Cuba with a view to stop nuclear war, could China use atom bomb against India and still survive the might of USA and Russian nuclear weapons? Mao's China will last but a few hours. So non-alignment stands as a supreme deterrent against Chinese atom bomb and it is the destiny that has cast the burden of defence of non-alignment on India. Bertrand Russel says, "Had India foregone non-alignment it is seriously doubtful that other nations could have maintained it and the areas of conflict would be many more while the sources of mediation non-existent". Money lost is nothing lost - honour lost is something lost, but courage lost is everything lost.

### 3) Peaceful co-existence with countries of different social and political systems.

Mr. Khruschev at 22nd CPSU said - "The states existing in the globe with different social systems make up two world systems - the socialist and capitalist. For all the power of modern science, it is impossible to cut the globe into two and allot each of two systems a definite area, to disengage them if I may say so. And this means that the existence of countries with different social and political systems is a historical fact".

Mr. Khruschev's policies were as a result of extensive discussion in party and they remain as valid today as they were before. So no change whatsoever in Soviet policies towards India and other Afro-Asian countries as a result of Khruschev's removal from power can be envisaged. No country will be able to escape the fatal consequences of a thermo-nuclear war.

We have assurances from new leadership of Russia that "past policies were, are and will be continued". So peaceful co-existence with governments with different social and political systems is an article of faith with Russian new leadership. Brezhnev has laid stress on the point that peaceful co-existence will remain the unshakable basis of Moscow's foreign policy.

Chinese thesis is there can be no co-existence between states so long as colonialism exists. This is mere opportunism to use force and commit aggression whenever it suits China. Was India a colonial power? If not why was aggression committed against India and 14000 square miles of our territory occupied and claims advanced for much more territory. It simply means substitution of Chinese colonialism for European colonialism. In addition China is a liar when she says she attacked India in self defence. It is an open secret that some of the protagonists of China tried unsuccessfully to turn peaceful co-existence into an instrument of confrontation in the recent non-aligned nations conference in Cairo.

Non-aligned conference in the final communique expressed the conviction that in the present circumstances "mankind must regard peaceful co-existence as the only way to strengthen world peace".

## Explosion of atom bomb by China, in her own words is -

1. It is a major achievement of Chinese people in their struggle to oppose the US imperialist policy of nuclear blackmail and nuclear threats. Chinese leaders forget it was as a result of the possession of nuclear bomb both USA and Russia came nearer each other and both countries have upheld peaceful co-existence.
2. China claims that her aim is to break the nuclear monopoly of nuclear powers which means USA and Russia. She condemns both countries in what they call the partial Test Ban Treaty a big fraud to fool the people of the world. This is contrary to truth. Where is the question of monopoly when four countries before Chinese explosion were already known to be nuclear powers?
3. American nuclear superiority is so very great that Russia was persuaded to rule out nuclear war and seek peaceful co-existence. Walter Lippman's assessment is "China starts its career as a nuclear power within the same framework of deterrence that the Soviet Union has lived in since the middle of 1950s". This should serve as a big persuader for policy of co-existence in Peking. We should therefore proclaim our unshakable faith in peaceful co-existence in spite of Chinese nuclear bomb explosion. Walter Lippman advises that "we must not sheet our minds to or exclude from the consideration of our policies, the possibility that within the coming generation China will wish to make peace with all her neighbours on the land and the sea".

"Peaceful co-existence primarily presupposes settlement of international disputes by peaceful means. But it is not confined only to that. It also implies equality of states non-interference in one another's domestic affairs, the right to national self determination, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, promotion of international cooperation on a basis of complete

equality and mutual benefit and mutual understanding and confidence". Stepan Holodstov.

#### **4. Consolidation of peace and development of friendship and international cooperation.**

Mr. Breznev in his Red Square speech has stated that the policy of new leadership in Russia is to consolidate peace and develop friendship and cooperation among nations. He says this is the only reasonable policy under present conditions. If the governments of other states in their past display are striving for peace, if the sovereign right of every nation, great and small, to settle its destiny independently, is observed, then peaceful labour and progress will be ensured. Every effort would be made for increasing welfare of the people.

China does not believe in peace. It believes in conquest. The nature of her claims on territories bordering her own in respect of Soviet Russia and attack and occupation of areas on the Indian border shows her greed for territory. China can be isolated on the basis of consolidation of peace and development of friendship and international cooperation which all other countries except China seek.

China while exploding the bomb says, "China is developing nuclear weapons not because we believe in the omnipotence of nuclear weapons. The truth is exactly to the contrary".

China says Chinese people can be trusted. We cannot do this until present thinking of China changes. She has failed to accept the friendly proposals of Colombo Powers with regard to border dispute with India. She recently said in connection with withdrawal of posts from Ladakh that she would never submit to international pressures. She does not believe in development of friendship for she has embittered relations with most of the nations of the world including communist countries. Her policy is international perfidy and chauvinism. The fact that she described nuclear bomb as a paper tiger shows she is callous about atom bomb knowing full well the paper tiger has teeth and claws of the greatest destructive type. Domination of the world atom bomb is her aim. Even though she assures the world that she will never at any time and under any circumstances be the

first to use nuclear weapons it is impossible to place reliance on her because India's experience in the past proves China can never be depended upon.

## 5. Relaxation of International tensions, Through

### I. Strengthening UNO.

UNO is the best known agency for guaranteeing peace and achieving inter-national security. Brezhnev has laid down that consolidation of peace, friendship and cooperation among the nations and work for further relaxation of international tensions would be the policy of new leadership in Russia. This cannot be achieved if UNO is weakened. Therefore it follows that UNO must be strengthened. India particularly feels encouraged with Breznev's statement that Russia will continue to support United Nations and large group of newly developing countries who have faith in the world body.

"The general line of the party in the sphere of foreign policy is the struggle for peace and international security and the application of the principle of peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems advanced by V.I. Lenin (Pravada)".

Indian policy is to strengthen UNO. U Thant in a message said on the eve of UNO day - "Views may differ on the faults and virtues of our organisation. But no one decries the need for its existence since it is no longer possible to think of a world without United Nations". He appealed for renewed efforts to strengthen and support the United Nations.

Even though considerable unification of the world has taken place under the aegies of UNO, a lot of problems remains unsolved. UNO alone has the means to find equitable solutions for such problems. Rashtrapathi on UN Day message said "IF all nations agree to participate in the maintenance of universal peace force the strength of the Un will increase and it will be able to respond to the demands made on it in crisis which arise from international disputes".

President Radhakrishnan said that despite massive Chinese aggression against this country in 1962 India had continued to plead for the admission of China into UN so that UN resolutions would have a binding character on that country.

Therefore it is in the interests of every country big and small, powerful and weak, developed and developing, advanced and backward, that UN should be strengthened.

The principles of non-alignment, peaceful co-existence outlawing war and establishment of lasting peace, achieving disarmament and international friendship and cooperation as also economic and cultural well being of nations are possible of achievement only if UN is strong and backed up by all nations. The UN charter binds all countries to observe these principles including the states which are not members of the UNO.

China is not a member of UNO. While efforts should be made unceasingly to admit China as a member of UNO, she should be warned not to violate or act against principles accepted by UNO. All the member Nations of UNO should speak with one voice in this matter.

## ii. Disarmament

The best way of guaranteeing lasting peace would be general and complete disarmament under strict international control. The Soviet Union drew up a programme of such disarmament and advanced it in 1959. The idea was unanimously approved in the United Nations. The practical utilisation however, is meeting with artificial obstacles raised by western powers. The moment humanity overcomes these obstacles the path to a world without wars will be opened.

Certain steps already taken by the Nations of the world in cooperation with two super powers namely USA and USSR have contributed towards lessening of international tensions i.e.-

1. Partial test ban treaty
2. The Soviet-American agreement not to orbit vehicles carrying nuclear and other mass destructive weapons.

3. The decision reached by the Soviet and US Governments to reduce the output of fissionable materials for nuclear weapons has given rise to new hopes. It will curb arms race and reduce international tension.
4. The then premier Khruschev had sent a message to all heads of states and governments proposing an agreement renouncing force as a means of settling territorial and border disputes. This is welcomed by many states.

The fate of this proposal remains to be seen under the new leadership of Russia.

5. Disarmament conference of 17 Nations in Geneva is making snail speed and it is hoped full success will be achieved soon.

China believes in war to establish her supremacy. She thinks nuclear war is also inevitable. She has developed nuclear weapons for that purpose. She thinks if nuclear weapons are outlawed and destroyed, China will remain unbeaten on the score of her numbers as also in conventional weapons and military power. Even if nuclear bombs are used in mutual war, she hopes her population will survive such war and at the end of such war also she would be the biggest power on earth.

India's policy in this behalf is general and complete disarmament with international control. India should spare no pains and efforts to promote, in the discussion at Geneva, the elaboration of concrete measures which would enable a start to be made on the implementation of disarmament and the release of funds so saved for peaceful construction including economic aid to the developing nations.

### **III. Support to newly independent countries.**

"The Soviet Union will continue to strengthen the friendship and cooperation with the young sovereign states of Asia, Africa and Latin America" — policy leader in Pravda. Peaceful co-existence is the unshakable basis of Moscow's foreign policy according to Breznev. This means full support to newly

independent countries will be given to maintain their independence.

China does not believe in peaceful co-existence. She has attacked India and occupied 14,000 square miles of our area and lays claim for more. It suits China's expansionist policy not to believe in peaceful existence since she could choose her time to make claims of territories. So China cannot be depended upon to extend support always to independent countries unless it suits her.

Indian foreign policy should be framed on the basis of complete support to all independent countries in the realm of politics as well as economic and social and cultural development.

#### **(iv) Secure freedom for the subject nations.**

The joint communique issued by Rashtrapathi and Mr. Khruschev "Reaffirmed their loyalty to the decisions of United Nations and other international organisations which envisage the need to eliminate the vestiges of colonialism and imperialism and to grant independence to all countries and peoples under foreign domination with a view to achieving their liberation from all forms of colonialism and imperialism". They expressed their full support for the just struggles for freedom in all parts of the world particularly in Asia and Africa and they demand freedom and independence without delay for the peoples of all countries under foreign domination.

## *Chapter 5*

### **KAMARAJ PLAN**

**"Politics are now nothing more than a means of rising in the world".**

**"Samuel Johnson"**

The political situation in the country, particularly that of the Congress Party was fast deteriorating. The author was prompted to bring this to the notice of the Prime Minister through a letter which is reproduced here for the benefit of the readers.

This letter needed no reply, but it resulted in introduction of "Kamaraj Plan".

**Letter to Mr. Nehru on corruption in high circles, Moral weakness, need to revitalise the congress:**

N. Sri Rama Reddy B.Sc., Ag.,

29, Madhav Nagar  
Bangalore - 1  
Dt. 4th June 1963

My Beloved Leader,

Much water has flown under the bridge ever since we left delhi after the last session of the Parliament.

Talking of things nearer home, we have lost three important by-elections and one prestige assembly seat in Tiruvannamalai in Madras. Sirajuddin episode has more solidly contributed for our defeat than any other single cause. Whatever be the truth of this which is probably known to you by now, it cannot be denied that the public have drawn an adverse inference against us, the congressmen in general. Public statements and counter statements of Sri. Patnaik and Dr Mehtab have made matters worse for us.

To add to this fantastic way in which organisational elections have taken place in the meanwhile in Mysore, the stalemate in Andhra and Kerala outbursts between P.C.C. and

the Government there - all of them give an impression that our organisation is now subjected to pressures of cracking. And what is more, I assure you I am speaking with personal knowledge when I say the congress organisation in Mysore as probably in other states is P.R.O. & D.R.O. created organisations. Speaking of Bangalore City Congress Committee I make bold to say that never was so big a fraud committed on so vast a scale. All this has happened with the evil designs of power hunters. Bitterness and contempt have been the inevitable off-springs of this political engineering.

Power by any means is the motto of some congressmen. Whatever socialism, non-alignment and planning are there - they are there because of you and your great personality and that too as by-products of power mechanics. My experience as a member of the Pradesh Election Committee of Mysore last year where I attempted to translate our ideology into practice in awarding tickets, did disillusion me enough, for, the Central Election Committee finally issued tickets in a reckless way without any reference to the Pradesh Members recommendations or observations. My belief in the infallibility of the Central Election Committee was shattered and it pains me most to say this.

I have been since then exercising my mind on possible remedies of the deteriorating situation in congress politics. The pace of deterioration has been ever getting accelerated notwithstanding the emergency. I see the AICC also is getting agitated over this situation.

The hope seems to be depending on the possibility of setting into motion a process of rectification which is possible if party's choicest and most respected men and women take up the organisation into their own hands as full time business dealing ruthlessly with every maladministration, nepotism, corruption and indiscipline on state and central level both in administrative and organisational wings. I feel there is a lacuna in this respect in our organisation. The mental make-up and trends of local leaders these days seem to be getting unhealthy and requires to be corrected by proper and effective central control. Vigilance and ever greater vigilance and control and ever strickter control is the answer to the situation. A

process of proper supervision, direction and control are absolute necessities which I would like to commend to your kind consideration as a check against the malady affecting our sacred organisation.

I crave for your forgiveness for unduly long better.  
with kind regards,

*Yours most sincerely,*

*(Sd) N. Sri Rama Reddy*

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The year that followed by the offer of Cease-fire proposals by China on twenty-first November 1962 and subsequent Colombo Conference Proposals brought a sort of respite and temporary relief to the country even though China accepted mediatory proposals of Colombo Conference with reservations while India did so in toto.

What was worrying leaders in Congress, particularly Prime Minister and Congress President Sri. Kamaraj Nadar was the political situation which was none too satisfactory. In the wake of loss of three by-elections to the Parliament, two in U.P. and one in Gujarat, followed by calamitous defeat at the hands of China in the recent war, the Prime Minister felt shaken. He had warned the party members in a meeting that these by-elections were very important and every one should do his or her best for the success of congress candidates.

The situation all over the country, the state of the Congress Party and its administration in states and the centre was such as to alarm the Prime Minister. He found that there were either wranglings and disputes among the organisational wing or Government or sullenness and misunderstanding everywhere. The degeneration had reached unprecedented proportions in the states. The Prime Minister as well as the Congress High Command found that radical measures were urgently called for if the situation was to be kept within control.

Controversies and feuds raged in the Congress Party in U.P, Madhya Pradesh, Orissa, Andhra and Karnataka (Mysore), Kerala, Bihar, Punjab, Jammu and Kashmir and West Bengal. Thus the whole country was involved in feuds. The Prime Minister expressed his agony over the situation in Congress States.

While the prevailing moral degeneration of the Congress did demand urgent remedial measures such as the Kamaraj Plan, it cannot be said that the personal factor did not play its part in this matter. Sri Morarji Desai the then Finance Minister's trip to the U.S.A. for canvassing Financial and Military aid to India in the troubled situation on the sub-continent and the publicity which the American Press and even the Pentagon circles showered on the India's Finance Minister caused considerable consternation in the mind of Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru. While Nehru appeared to the U.S.A. to be unbending in his attitude of non-alignment and impartial as between the U.S.A. and U.S.S.R., Morarji had created the impression that he was more in favour of the U.S. than Nehru and therefore the U.S.A. Press even went to the extent of hailing Morarji as the future Prime Minister of India. This provided a ready opportunity for easing out an inconvenient colleague and the Kamaraj Plan was a clever device for securing this end. It would not be too wild a guess to suggest that Nehru was himself influenced by the jealousies and prejudices of his entourage.

This high thinking and low action in the congress was the greatest malaise. He reminded them all that the congress was the biggest organisation and the oldest one. It was the one that won freedom to the country. It was the duty of congressmen and women to set up better examples of character and conduct.

This situation was highlighted by the charges of corruption against Minister Malaviya in the "Serajuddin affair" started saying "One perfume shocked British Government while such Perfumes prevailed all over states and centre in India". All said and done, the political situation in India was anything but satisfactory. The organisation did not measure upto either the needs of the country or expectations of the people. The congress had become fatigued, inefficient and corrupt, quite incapable of providing honest and purposeful leadership of Government.

It is in this situation that Sri. Kamaraj Nadar the Congress President with his abounding common sense and keen patriotism suggested to Nehru that some drastic action or operation should be launched in the party and Government. Some of those who were in high positions of power must be relieved and redrafted for party work ad regeneration.

Mr. Nehru agreed to give a trial to this suggestion. Thereafter this became a slogan which caught up the people and the party. Some that mattered said "If you cannot change the Government you could at least change the faces in the Government". The Prime Minister agreed with Kamaraj's Proposals, and desired the Congress President to convene a meeting of the A.I.C.C. for discussing the matter. The A.I.C.C. meeting was called and the subject of withdrawing some top men from their position of power and redrafting them for organisational work was discussed at length and was finally approved. This plan came to be called "KAMARAJ PLAN".

The implementation of "KAMARAJ PLAN" was left to Prime Minister Mr. Nehru. The idea underlying this plan was that the Government both Central and States should do their best in all departments of human activity and drive the administrative apparatus to a more rapid, sustained and intelligent implementation of all policies.

Mr. Nehru after deep consideration and discussion with Shri. Kamaraj Nadar suggested that six union Ministers of cabinet rank and six Chief Ministers should be replaced in working out this plan.

Among the six Union Ministers of Cabinet Rank who were withdrawn from Union Government were Finance Minister Sri Morarji Desai, Food and Agricultural Minister sri Jagjivan Ram and Home Minister Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri. They are to be relieved and their portfolios were to be handed over to Sri T.T. Krishnamachar (Finance), Sri. Sardar Swaran Singh (Food and Agriculture) and Sri. Gulzarilal Nanda (home).

The following Chief Ministers were also relieved in the same manner -

1. Sri. B.J. Patnaik, Chief Minister of Orissa.
2. Sri. Bakshi Gulam Mohammed. Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.
3. Sri. C.B. Gupta, Chief Minister of U.P.
4. Sri. Binod Anand Jha, Chief Minister of Bihar
5. Sri. Mandolai, Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh
6. Sri. Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab

The resignations of these six Chief Ministers were accepted and they were relieved from their offices. Their places were directed to be filled up by by-elections from the respective congress legislative parties of states. Thus came into operation what is called "KAMARAJ PLAN".

With the launching of the Kamaraj Plan, a new wind of change started blowing in central and state Governments. But those that were relieved of power none with genuine willingness were at a loss to know what to do. Now Sri. Kamaraj Nadar had their services placed under his direction. Sri. Kamaraj desired them to work for Mahatma Gandhi's constructive programme of village industries, prohibition, communal harmony etc.,. The work of disciplining the congress men and women was insisted upon. It was suggested that the creation of a cadre of congress workers with clean character and conduct was also necessary. New ideas were to be put before the people to revitalise them and spur them to action purposeful in political, economic, social and administrative fields. Every congress man and woman was a dedicated individual with high values in pre-independence days. This image of congress had become spoiled. Restoration of the inspiring image of the congress was necessary and work in this behalf should be taken up.

First and foremost, a proper co-ordination between the organisational wing and administration wing of the congress should be brought. The organisation should start a mass contact programme on a very extensive scale. Government policies and programmes should be popularised. This sort of very essential

complementary work which remain unattended to on account of selfishness and indifference had to be attended to.

The organisational wing right from the village level to the highest level must be totality dedicated to this work. This was the purpose with which the twelve senior leaders were relieved of their positions in Government. This sort of synchronisation of party role with that of Government for the betterment of nation as a whole was what was in the mind of the author of this plan and the Prime Minister. If congress was to function with these high principles and with a sense of public duty, and as a party of not only of high idealism but one led by men of intellectual integrity, it must be purified.

But did those that come out of office under the Kamaraj Plan do that sort of work? Unfortunately they did not. In the flutter and fury that followed Kamaraj Plan which was upper most, the defeat inflicted by China was forgotten. The name "KAMARAJ PLAN" alone remained while congress big wigs were each cut to size.

Those who were discharged from office under the Kamaraj Plan nursed a sense of disappointment and resentment. How could organisation be made more attractive than office? This was a vain hope and a delusion. Instead of service motive gaining momentum, the frustration of displaced stalwarts became more evident, to the detriment of both the Government and the organisation. Even the defeat inflicted by China began to fade from public memory.

Those that were relieved from Government were instructed to take up the following National Work:

#### **PROGRAMME:-**

"It is not an army that we must train  
for war : It is a Nation".

*(Woodrow Wilson)*

The Congress Party in Parliament write to invite your kind attention to the exhortations of our revered Leader in the recent meeting of the General body of the Party in respect of our duties

and functions when we get back to our constituencies after the present session.

An effort has been made to provide guide lines to the members for adoption of the same in their respective constituencies.

**I. AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION :-** The army marches on its belly. So Maximisation of agricultural output is the greatest necessity.

i) **Irrigation:-** It is necessary to find out whether the entire potential created under major, medium and minor irrigation programmes is being fully utilised. If there is under utilisation, efforts should be made to utilise it fully. Double cropping where feasible must be taken to.

ii) **Manures:** The question of preservation of cattle-dung assumes greatest importance at the present moment. Where burning of cattle-dung is being done, provision of alternate fuel for cooking should be organised. The tempo of green manures growing and compost making as also plantation of trees etc., should be encouraged. The other agricultural Programmes like improved seeds, use of artificial manures, plant protection programmes should be intensified.

iii) **The Co-operative Credit:** The organisation of cooperative societies and making available short, medium and long term credit should be undertaken with the co-operation of the local authorities.

iv) **Procurement of grains:** It is very sad that market arrivals of food-grains has been falling year after year. This tendency has been mainly responsible for spiralling of prices. The only way this can be checked is through internal procurement. Efforts should be made to give entire co-operation through the various agencies to mop up effective internal procurement, to augment imports. It should be seen that distribution is done properly and well through fair price shops and consumer co-operatives etc.

v) **Village Industries:** Every effort should be made to increase the tempo of industrial organisations, broadly set up in rural areas.

**II. INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION:** A success in the war front depends as much on the industrial production in the home front as fighting on war front. Maximisation of industrial production is a desideratum, one cannot ignore for our success in the war. The wheels of production must be kept moving unabatingly. Such of those friends who come from urban areas of industrial production should devote their energies fully to this aspect. The main guide-lines in this respect are:

1. to enthuse the labour force to increase production.
2. employer and employee's relations should be kept cordial.
3. industrial peace must be maintained.
4. no room should be given for mischief makers that hamper production.

### **III. DEFENCE EFFORTS:**

- a. Recruitment to the Army, Navy and Air Force should be helped.
- b. Contributions to the defence fund wherever possible should be raised.
- c. Participation in and effective functioning of citizens Defence Committees, Civil defence and Vigilance Committees should be undertaken.
- d. The families of Jawans should be taken care of.
- e. Destitutes in Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Rajasthan and adjoining areas of the front should be well taken care of.
- f. Recruitment of Doctors in the army should be hastened up.

**IV CIVIL DEFENCE PROGRAMMES:** Air raids and proper observance of its do's, and dont's, home guards and their enlistment and proper strengthening, co-operation with agencies of Government are of vital importance. Efficient maintenance of

supply lines and communications should be organised and information centres are to be opened.

#### V. SOCIAL ASPECT:

Organisation of :-

- a. Public meetings; Reading rooms; group discussions, Seminars, Simposia; and cultural exchanges should be undertaken.
- b. Communal harmony is an absolute necessity and shall have to be maintained. Every effort should be made towards this end.
- c. The society should maintain stability and solidarity. Indomitable spirit and determination of the people should be worked up to its highest pitch. The motto "Beware of spies" and "fifth columnist" should be well inculcated in a citizen.
- d. Hoarding and profiteering should be checked through proper vigilance.

Maintaining of the price line and Curbing the anti-social elements should be effectively done.

Places of business and entertainment must work smoothly.

- e. Savings must be increased and invested.
- f. Waste should be avoided in
  - a. every meal
  - b. every piece of cloth
  - c. every home article
  - d. utilisation of electricity
  - e. feasting
- g. Marriage should be performed with greatest austerity and savings thus effected should be handed over to the National Fund.

- h. Miss a meal campaign can be very profitably propagated. The grain so saved by the campaign should be made available to the Governmental agencies.

A call has come from Mother India. The hour is now,. Therefore, let us bend our entire energies to maintain stability and solidarity of the people and prepare the people for sacrifice, hardships, want and suffering if need be, so that the country may be taken to its glorious destiny. It is the unexpected and unanticipated which tend to weaken morale. The people must be prepared for the worst so that they may not be found wanting to face the crisis. Every one should be his duty. Let us, therefore, arise, awake and stop not till the goal is reached.

JAI HIND

*Congress Party in Parliament.*

## CHAPTER 6

### AIR UMBRELLA

".....When none can call our power  
to account"?

*"Shakespeare"*

Following the Chinese attack on the northern border inflicting a defeat on Indian army and occupation of considerable Indian territory, Indian opinion hardened, though cease-fire was brought about India accepting the Colombo proposals in toto and China not doing so. Though China agreed to Colombo proposals in principle she reserved the right to attack India at her own chosen time. It was graceful for India in so far as she agreed to honest proposals of the mediators but the Chinese acceptance of the Colombo proposals with a rider was unfortunate.

India's reaction was bitter. The thought most predominant everywhere was how to strengthen the defences of India against the Chinese attack in the northern mountain warfare if repeated by China. Air defence occupied most minds in the Government as well as the Indian population. The word Air Umbrella was thus evolved.

Indian missions went out seeking military assistance to U.S.A. England and other friendly countries under the leadership of Mr. S. Boothalingam and Sri. Biju Patnaik.

Mr. Patnaik was reported to have spoken to the press in Washington about the "strategy, strength and defence of this country". This was pointed out by the author to the Prime Minister Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru in letter dated 27th March, 1963, for which a reply was sent in his letter dated 30th March, 1963. Both the author's letter and the Nehru's reply are reproduced below:-

## REDDY'S LETTER TO NEHRU

SRI RAMA REDDI B.Sc., (Agri),  
MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT,  
(RAJYA SABHA)

122, South Avenue, New Delhi  
Phone 36911

Madhava Nagar, Bangalore  
phone: 2955/3403

Bangalore  
27th March 1963

My Beloved Leader,

Silence is said to be golden where speech is a folly. But I am acting against this maxim in this letter.

Today's 'HINDU' Wrote a leader under the caption "Regrettable" about Mr. Patnaik's episode. "Prime Minister's explanations notwithstanding, the Patnaik's episode could not have helped to enhance the Government of India's image either abroad or at Home". This is a damaging remark - more so if it came from a very moderate paper like the Hindu. What is more, it was not to be expected that Indian Parliament and the press would take all this as a matter of course. The Hob'le Speaker's remark that "It had distressed him as also every citizen of this country" is a disapproval of Mr. Patnaik's poser over strategy, strength and defence of this Country.

That "There have been too many instances lately of some of our Cabinet Ministers and other official spokesmen talking out of turn and talking at contradictions and the Prime Minister has often been compelled to intervene to set matters right" is yet another criticism. Evidently speeches of T.T.K. and others are in the view of the learned leader.

I, myself was none too happy at the recent reply of Sri. Morarji Desai in Rajya Sabha on Budget Debate, when attacks were made on Smt. Amrit Kaur and Mr. Arya. The attack was merited if it had been made in a party meeting, but could not fit in on the floor of the House. Statesman commented on this speech.

Reverting to Mr. Patnaik's press Conference in U.S.A. he is reported to have said "Prime Minister may be thinking of other

youngish people also" for his Government. Yes, Youth is good in its own place. But it is well we are reminded of Byron who said "O, ye who teach the ingenuous youth of Nations I pray ye, flog them upon all occasions."

With Kind regards,

*Yours most sincerely,*

(N. SRI RAMA REDDY)

No. 149-PMO/63

New Delhi,  
March 30, 1963



My dear Sri Rama Reddi,

Your letter of the 27th March. As for what Shri Patnaik said in Washington to a journalist, it would probably have been better if he had not said it, but there was no letting out of secrets in it, as this matter had been referred to many newspapers and is fully well known. He did not know that a particular information about the size or expansion of our Army had been refused to the Parliament. Though, therefore, it was somewhat unfortunate, I do not think it was a very important matter.

*Yours sincerely,*

*Jawaharlal Nehru.*

Sri Sri Rama Reddi, MP,  
122, South Avenue,  
NEW DELHI.

It is evident that the question of securing military aid of all types from all countries has been an accepted policy of our Government. Accordingly committees have been sent to U.S.A. and other friendly countries to canvas for military aid.

Under these circumstances the United States Ambassador Mr. John Kenneth Galbraith in his address to India on 20th February, 1963 came forward announcing the U.S.A. Policy vis-a-vis Chinese attack on India. He announced that "While this has been thought to represent a great change in your policy and ours, it could be considered the logical complement to past efforts. The great and compassionate tasks of economic, social, and political development can proceed only if there is security from the short-run threat of military aggression. So viewed, assistance for defence is but one large part of a larger and much more familiar task". He further said "we have so far been meeting your emergency needs out of stocks of the United States Army. A fairly good job, I think, has been done in getting your most urgent requirements into our procurement machinery. What I have said applies with full force to the problem of Air defence.

Thus, there has been a change in Indian Policy and that of USA with the result huge quantities of military aid arrived from USA and other friendly countries.

By and by the military aid situation assumed greater and greater significance. The talk of procuring "Air Umbrella" was an off shoot of this military aid. So everybody spoke of "Air Umbrella".

However the Prime Minister of India did not like this talk of Air Umbrella. Speaking in the parliament on 21st February, 1963 the Prime Minister Sri Jawaharlal Nehru said that there was no question of stationing foreign air forces in India or the establishment of foreign air bases in this country. As a matter of fact none of the friendly countries had made any such suggestion. Making a statement on the discussions between the U.S. and Commonwealth Air teams and experts of the Indian Air Force, Mr. Nehru said that India had to be defended by its own forces. India welcomed the help of friendly countries for procuring necessary equipment and materials but air

defence was too vital a matter to be left for improvisation or to the "Air Umbrella" suggested". At the same time, India's basic foreign policy and western understanding of it remain unaffected. Neither USA nor Britain ever expected to extend military aid beyond what was necessary. All that was being considered by friendly countries was organising an effective air defence against the possibility of further Chinese aggression. Uninformed talk of "Air Umbrella" together with somewhat less than candid official explanations has combined to produce an unnecessary atmosphere of suspicion of "Air Umbrella".

However the common wealth — US air defence mission's task has been assignment and examination with Indian Air Force the problems and technical requirements involved in organising an effective air defence against the possibility of further Chinese aggression. This is all what was in most minds conceived as "Air Umbrella". This was also meant for some minds an abandonment of Non-alignment policy of the Government of India. However, Shri. Nehru made it clear that foreign air bases or foreign air forces are not to be established in India. All that Nehru meant was not air umbrella, but assistance of material required for meeting the immediate Chinese air aggression pending development of Indian own air craft industry and shape her defences against the Chinese threat. This does not certainly mean giving up non-alignment policy.

Thus the shadows that covered the Indian skies were cleared by Sri. Jawaharlal Nehru.

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In February 1963, the AICC produced a pamphlet entitled "(1) we will fight to the last ditch. (2) For our country. (3) For our leader" - for distribution all over the country. Author did not like it. So its criticism was brought to the notice of the Prime Minister through a letter. The Prime Minister is said to have ordered for the wholesale destruction of these pamphlets, a million of which were said to have been printed. Prime Minister's reply to the author's letter has been reproduced below:-

No. 394-PMH/63

प्रधान मंत्री भवन

PRIME MINISTER'S HOUSE  
NEW DELHI

February 19, 1963

My dear Sri Rama Reddi,

I have your letter without date with which you have sent a pamphlet issued by the A.I.C.C. I have glanced through this pamphlet. I do not particularly like what this pamphlet says.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

Sri N. Sri Rama Reddi, MP,  
122, South Avenue,  
New Delhi.

## **Chapter 7**

### **END OF NEHRU ERA**

"Knowledge by suffering entereth And life is  
perfected by Death"

*"Elizabeth Barrett Browning"*

#### **PASSING AWAY OF SRI PANDIT JAWAHARLAL NEHRU:**

The Hon. Sri. C. Subramanyam, Minister, entered Parliament House on 27th May 1964 to break the sad news of the death of our beloved Prime Minister Sri. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru.

The shocked House adjourned to meet again on 29th May when member after member paid glorious tributes to the departed leader. The leader of the house moved a resolution. "The Rajya Sabha meeting in the shadow of the national calamity of the passing away of our beloved leader and Prime Minister Sri. Jawaharlal Nehru, expresses its profound anguish and grief and declares its firm resolve to strive for the ideals of world peace and progress and national unity, solidarity and prosperity to which he dedicated himself throughout his life". This resolution was passed unanimously, all members standing in silence for two minutes.

No Indian leader after Mahatma Gandhi did more to stabilise democracy in this country in the crucial post independence years than this illustrious son of India. Sri. Jawaharlal Nehru's death marked the end of an era. He was so much to so many. He inspired the masses of India and got inspired by them in turn. He was the father of India Planning. As a visionary, he saw the possibility of economic development only through planning. He passed away in the middle of his third Five Year plan His Non-Alignment policy and Afro-Asian Solidarity won world wide recognition.

He was a kind of a super-man. Life was, for him, "A continuous struggle of man against man, of man against his

surroundings, a struggle in the physical, intellectual and moral plane out of which new things take shape and fresh ideas are born". He was second to none in the effort for finding a better tomorrow.

He was conscious of the unity of the history, culture, religion and spiritual thought of mankind. He loved children. He saw the future of India in them. His birthday i.e., fourteenth of November was rightly declared as National Children's Day.

**Nehru the Crusader:** Jawaharlal Nehru epitomised modern India. He spoke like an agnostic and acted even more so. But his inner most heart was swayed by spirituality. He is seen bending with folded hands before the image of Buddha when he opened Ladhakhi Buddha Vihar in Delhi on 24th February 1963. He commended Lord Buddha's message of friendship, kindness and compassion as a means of solving national and international problems.

His commitment to planning was complete. Industrialization and the development of steel and heavy machinery manufacture was his sole central concern.

Agriculture development was brought about through giant construction of irrigation cum power projects along with taking up massive, medium and minor irrigation projects. His venture in taking up fertiliser and sugar factories was thoughtful indeed. Research and developments in science and technology were pressed into service all over the country. The spread of education in the country from the primary to the highest level was given high priority and as a result more than about 60 million students are learning in lakhs of institutions. The principles and tenor of his foreign policy is not the least part of his legacy to the country.

He was a great believer in world peace and worked incessantly for it. Democratic socialism was his political Philosophy. He had a great sense of history and could unerringly perceive the linkage of the past, present and future. Though he was not a scientist, he was an apostle of the scientific temper and was uncompromising in his opposition to all forms of superstition, obscurantism and inhumanity.

May 27th 1964 was the saddest day in the Independent India's history. It is on this day India's illustrious leader Sri Jawaharlal Nehru breathed his last. Life to him was an unending journey and discovery. The lines of the poet Robert Frost found written in his own hand on a little pad which lay on his work table reflects the spirit of Nehru's life and work.

Sri. Jawaharlal Nehru passed away leaving a great void in the country. The whole Parliament and the entire population were dazed and shocked. After the announcement of death of Nehru the Parliament was adjourned to meet on 29th May 1964.

The Rajya Sabha met on 29th May 1964 at 11 A.M. and the leader of the House Sri. M.C. Chagla paid tribute to the departed leader as follows:-

Who are we to pay tribute to Jawaharlal Nehru? He bestrode the world like a colossus and we petty men can only remember his greatness and give him our tears wrung from a stricken heart.

It is not given to every one to give a name to an age. The seventeen years that he was Prime Minister of India will always be known as the Nehru Age. But it is not only in his country's history that his name will be remembered. In international affairs, in the evolution of world history, in the long road that we have travelled to enhance human dignity and give freedom to the individual. The period of his Prime Ministership will always be commemorated as the Nehru Epoch.

With the passing away of Nehru not only has India lost one of the most illustrious sons, India lost a stout champion in the cause of freedom and in the struggle against colonialism and the greatest exponent of the art of living together both as between man and man and nation and nation. He has left a void which can never be filled. India and the world will never be the same without Nehru.

He was so much a part of the nation, he was so deeply interested in every national activity, his own impression upon the nation's thoughts and actions was indelible that it is impossible to conceive of an India without Nehru. To the commonest man

in the country and to the highest statesman outside Nehru was India and India was Nehru. Gandhiji was the father of the Nation. He gave us independence and a sense of nationhood. On that foundation Nehru built to raise modern industrial scientific-minded nation. The history of 17 years of progress is the history of Nehru translating into action the dreams that he dreamt, when he worked and fought for his country's freedom.

As a man he was essentially a man of culture — culture in the best sense of the term which means tolerance, understanding and belief in human dignity and a rational outlook on life. His deep sense of tolerance and understanding in the domestic sphere made him the greatest protagonist of secularism. Every person in India mourns his death and no one does so more than members of the minority communities. They knew that they could always look to him for justice and fairplay. In the international field these qualities led him to evolve the policy of non-alignment which will always be associated with his name.

His socialism was the result not so much of any economic ideology, but as a belief in human dignity, in his hatred of poverty and disease and in his profound faith in the equality of man. His rational outlook made him fight the superstitions and inhibitions which retard our progress and made him attach the greatest importance to science not only for the purpose of expanding knowledge but more in order to give to his people a scientific and modern outlook on life.

Life must go on even without Nehru and we must at least try and be worthy of his principles and ideals. We are living in difficult, almost critical times. The ship of state has lost its captain but the ship must sail, however turbulent the seas are. Whoever is the new captain, he can steer the ship by the light that Nehru's name and memory will always shed, and his spirit will always be there to guide the country he loved so greatly and to protect the people who gave him a devotion and dedication which few leaders have received in any period of history or in part of the world.

May I ask the House to convey to the bereaved members of his family our deep and heartfelt sympathies on the great loss they have suffered?

**After NEHRU who?** The Lok Sabha also met and passed a similar resolution deeply grieving the loss of so great a man as Sr. Jawaharlal Nehru.

Sri. Gulzarilal Nanda was sworn in as the Prime Minister on the afternoon of the 27th May, 1964 after passing away of Sri. Jawaharlal Nehru pending the regular election of the leader.

But the question who after Sri. Nehru was heard everywhere in the country more particularly in the parliamentary circles.

Prime Minister Sri. Nehru's shaking speeches and trembling gait noticed during his last period of life seem to have warned the leaders in the congress circles. It was well known that leaders like Sri. Morarji Desai, Sri. Kamaraj Nadar, Sri. Najalingappa, Sri. N. Sanjeeva Reddy and Sri. Athuiya Ghosh met during this period secretly at Tirupathi and had decided to bring in Sri. Lal Bahadur Shastri as the next leader of the congress party though the meeting was secret. The decisions made by them with regard to the leadership of congress party after Sri. Nehru, came to be known all over India.

The congress leaders all over India, congress Chief Ministers and congress leaders in both the houses of Parliament were invited by Sri. Kamaraj Nadar for gathering opinion in the matter and also for discussions with leaders that mattered. After extensive discussions it was found that two leaders emerged i.e., Sri. Lal Bahadur Shastri and Sri. Morarji Desai. Intensive compromise talks were carried on. Majority of the big-wigs and followers seemed to be in favour of Sri. Lal Bahadur Shastri, while Sri Morarji Desai was unbending.

The Parliamentary Congress Executive Committee met on 01-6-1964 and decided to adopt a resolution authorising Sri. Kamaraj Nadar, the President of Congress, to nominate a candidate who would formally be elected. Accordingly the next day the congress party in Parliament met and unanimously elected Sri. Lal Bahadur Shastri on 2-6-1964 as Prime Minister of India.

Mr. Shastri formed a Cabinet consisting of sixteen Senior Leaders most of them were those who had been dropped in

Kamaraj Plan. Later on twenty Deputy Ministers were added to the Cabinet. Thus a full fledged new Cabinet came into existence.

Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri got no thornless crown. The success or failure of Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri as the new Prime Minister of India could have an effect far beyond Asia.

Sri. Lal Bahadur Shastri the new Prime Minister inherited numerous problems that confronted India both internally and externally. Internally speaking there was shortage of food, slow economic development, wide spread famine especially in Bihar and groupism in Congress. Externally speaking China's occupation of vast Indian territory and massing of armies against India. Pakistan in the west was posing a threat to India. Mr. Shastri was thus beset with problems after problems. The food shortage and wide spread famine was the first problem that drew the attention of Prime Minister. More than ten million metric tons were imported from America to augment the local stocks of food. Extensive studies were made on food situation. The situation in Bihar was very critical. The congress executive in Parliament took special note of it and deputed the author and Sri. S.N. Mishra to Bihar to study the food situation and report the matter to the party. Accordingly the author and Mr. Mishra toured all over Bihar and obtained the first hand knowledge of the situation. On the basis of this report vast quantities of food was despatched with post-haste to all the needed places.

After prolonged discussions one important agreement was arrived at by Prime Minister Sri. Lal Bahadur Shastri and the Prime Minister of Ceylon Smt. Bandara Naike with regard to persons of Indian origin in ceylon on which differences had existed between India and Ceylon over a period of last 25 years. According to this agreement Ceylon agreed to confer citizenship on 3,00,000 Indians out of approximately 9,75,000 who were then citizens of neither India nor Ceylon, India agreed to confer citizenship on 5,25,000 citizens and postponed the consideration of the rest of the Indians living in Ceylon. This agreement was welcomed on all sides.

In the discussions held on foreign affairs in the Parliament the situation as obtaining then was very well said by Sri. Sardar

Swarn Singh, the then Foreign Affairs minister. "Significant developments took place last month which were of direct interest to us and of importance to world peace. These were the retirement of Mr. Khruschev from the Chairmanship of the Council of Ministers in the USSR, the assumption of office by the Labour Party in the United Kingdom and the explosion of an atomic weapon device by China. The changes in the governmental set-up in the USSR not only will maintain the friendship between India and the USSR, but these will be further strengthened. Similar sentiments have been expressed by the new Government of the United Kingdom. The explosion, however, of an atomic weapon device by China within a few days after the non-aligned nations' declaration in Cairo, not only constitutes a flagrant disregard of the hopes and wishes expressed by the non-aligned nations and the people of the world generally, but develops a threat to humanity and human civilisation. Between the atom bomb and the spirit of humanity, we have always expressed ourselves strongly against the bomb and affirmed our confidence that in this struggle the spirit of humanity is bound to prevail.

It is important that we should maintain our balance and poise in the face of this provocative action of China in defiance of world public opinion. The Government of India have considered this unfortunate development from the standpoint of our national interests and the interests of world peace. We will not deviate from the path that we have chosen and we shall continue to develop our resources of atomic energy for peaceful purposes only and for the progress and prosperity of our people. We continue to work together with like-minded countries to reinforce and invigorate world public opinion against nuclear weapon tests, for the early elimination of all nuclear weapons throughout the world, and for general and complete disarmament which is the unanimous goal of the United Nations"

These are the important events that took place in the first half year of Shri. Lal Bahadur Shastri's Prime Ministership.

## CHAPTER 8

### KUTCH SIND BORDER DISPUTE

Arbitration is more often a gamble"

*Ann*

No sooner did China explode its atom bomb in October 1964, an attack was forced on India by Pakistan. It was at 7.00 A M on April 24, 1965, Pakistan attacked India with a full infantry brigade, supported by tanks and heavy artillery, in a four pronged offensive against Indian positions 6 to 8 miles inside Rann of Kutch. This was a breach against Indo-Pakistan border agreement of 1960 not to speak of breach of international law. The Rann of Kutch is a marsh land in Kutch district of Gujarat State.

This was a well established boundary between Kutch and Sind for many centuries in the past and was well recognised as such in maps and records. The border dispute of Kutch with Sind having arisen between the Kutch ruler and the then paramount British power and having discussed the problem thoroughly, a resolution dated 24th February, 1914, was adopted by Government of Bombay and ruler of Kutch, authentically confirmed the boundary line between sind and kutch.

The resolution was -

"On a full review of the evidence, therefore, Government arrived at the conclusion that the boundary between Kutch and Sind should be the green line in the accompanying map from the mouth of the Sir Creek to the top of the Sir Creek at the point where it joins the blue dotted line; from there it should follow the blue dotted line due east until it joins the Sind boundary as marked in purple on the map".

It extended to the tri-junction of Karachi and Hyderabad districts and the northern limits of the Rann which is part of Kutch.

It is a known fact that in 1956, the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan agreed to entrust the demarcation of the entire

India - West Pakistan boundary. Boundaries of Punjab and Rajasthan in the east and Pakistan on the West were determined. That between Sind and Kutch was still to be determined. In the meanwhile Pakistan chose to attack India in Rann of Kutch. Day by day the Pakistani attack advanced while discussions were taking place for the settlement of the problem. On February 10th, 1965, Kanjarkot decidedly an Indian territory was occupied by Pakistani army. Having done this encroachment the Pakistani Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed India that a meeting of survey experts was not acceptable to them. And what is more Pakistani regular armies occupied Sardar. Foreign Minister Mr. Bhutto, asserted on April 15th, that this dispute arose not on account of disputed border but because of adverse possession by India of Pakistan territory. Indeed, this was an audacious assertion throwing to winds all the agreements made between India and Pakistan and all the invitations sent to Pakistan for holding discussions - may be at local officers level or at the level of directors of survey or even at the Government level - But all the while marching of the Pakistan armies into the Indian territory. In the meanwhile India consumed all the insults inflicted on them and invited Pakistan for discussions through the ambassador level. The answer to Indian invitation was the demand by Pakistani foreign affairs minister asking the Indian Government to withdraw from their position in Kutch. Needless to say this was adding insult to injury.

This attack of Pakistan on India was discussed at length in parliament and a demand was made for throwing out Pakistan army from Kutch. The Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri was very conciliatory. His speech in parliament on 28th April, 1965 illustrates the graceful attitude the Prime Minister took on this aggression of Pakistan - He said - .

"Ever since the attainment of Independence, India has stood for peace, international amity and goodwill. India has a living and a vital stake in peace because we want to concentrate attention on improving the living standards of millions of our people. In the utilisation of our limited resources, we have always given primacy to plans and projects for economic development. It should, therefore, be obvious to any one who is prepared to look at things objectively that India can possibly

have no interest in provoking border incidents or in building up an atmosphere of strife.

"However, our neighbours, both China and Pakistan, have chosen to adopt an attitude of aggressive hostility towards India. Lately, they seem to have joined hands to act in concert against India....."

Mr. Shastri concluded by pointing out that the path of peace was still open.

It can also be said that India's case in regard to the Kutch dispute is cast iron and that, therefore, there is no risk involved in agreeing to refer it to a tribunal. Even as early as 1960, when Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru was Prime Minister, it was agreed that Kutch-Sind border dispute existed and that steps should be taken to settle it in accordance with the procedure laid down in the joint communique of October 1959.

But the Kutch dispute was looked at by the Prime Minister from a much broader angle. Supposing India did not agree to a cease-fire agreement and instead insisted not only on the Pakistani withdrawal, but also its own re-occupation of the area vacated by Pakistan, what would have happened? In the first place, the tension in this area would continue to exist.

Secondly, active military steps must be taken to throw out the Pakistans. The terrain in the Rann of Kutch, which is an arid sandy desert for five months, in a year and full of water for the remaining seven months, is so unfavourable that it would require years of preparation, particularly in regard to the establishment of road communication, before anything like a major operation could be undertaken. The construction of roads in the region is not only a frightfully costly affair, but a much more challenging task from the engineering point of view for the Border Roads Organisation engaged in the Himalayas.

Thirdly, the maintenance of active tension along the entire northern boundary of India for an indefinite period would throw a tremendous strain on the nation's material and other resources. Also statesmanship demands that the trouble spots should be reduced in number and concentration should be directed towards the more dangerous of the enemies of the country..

The repercussions of the Kutch border dispute has been analysed by Mr. K. Ranga Swamy, the then Hindu representative in Delhi.

Though India was emphatic on following the path of peace Pakistan armies were active in Rann of Kutch and fighting was going on between the two armies. The heat generated in the Rann of Kutch had disturbed both the countries.

In this connection it is to be remembered that on October 24th 1959, in a joint communique both the Governments of Pakistan and India had agreed to as follows:-

"Both Governments re-affirmed their determination to resolve border disputes by negotiations and agreed that all outstanding boundary disputes raised so far by either country, should if not settled by negotiations, be referred to an impartial tribunal for settlement and implementation of that settlement by demarcation on the ground and by exchange of territorial jurisdiction if any."

It was also stated that "Both countries agreed to collect further data in respect of the dispute regarding the Kutch – Sind boundary and discussion will be held later with a view to arriving at a settlement of this dispute".

A good number of terms for the conduct of both Indian and Pakistani forces were also laid down restricting movement of these forces on the border without the knowledge of the other. Yet Pakistan armies were moved into Rann of Kutch unilaterally flouting the terms of agreement of 1959-1960 and thus taking India by surprise. The promised data collection with regard to Kutch-Sind border was also not collected. All these constituted naked aggression by Pakistan.

Nevertheless it is a fact that if India and Pakistan failed to settle the issues by negotiation an impartial tribunal should be set up and implementation of that settlement by demarcation on the ground and by exchange of territorial jurisdiction if any.

Mr. Wilson, Herald British Prime Minister, being a friend of both Pakistan and India noticed the above agreement of 1959-1960 between the two countries, formulated an agreement

and forwarded the same for consideration of both India and Pakistan. Much water flew under the bridge in consideration of the agreement proposed by good-intentioned British Prime Minister. The agreement was finally approved both by Pakistan and India.

Following is the cease-fire agreement signed by both India and Pakistan, on 30th June 1965 at Karachi and New Delhi. The same was announced in both houses of Parliament by Prime Minister Sri. Lal Bahadur Shastri.

"Whereas both the Governments of India and Pakistan have agreed to a cease-fire and to restoration of the status quo as on January 1st, 1965 in the area of the Gujarat-West Pakistan border, in the confidence that this will also contribute to a reduction of the present tension along the entire Indo-Pakistan border;

"Whereas it is necessary that after the status quo has been achieved in the aforesaid Gujarat-West Pakistan border area, arrangements should be made for determination and demarcation of the border in that area;

Now therefore, the two Governments agreed that the following action shall be taken in regard to the said area:

There shall be an immediate cease-fire with effect from 0030 hours July 1st, 1965.

On the cease-fire.

- i. All troops on both sides will immediately begin to withdraw;
- ii. This process will be completed within seven days;
- iii. Indian police may then reoccupy the post of Chhad Bet in strength no greater than that employed at the post on December 31st, 1964.
- iv. India and Pakistan police may patrol on the tracks on which they were patrolling prior to January 1st, 1965, provided that their patrolling will not exceed in intensity that which they were doing prior to January 1st, 1965, and during the monsoon period will not exceed in

intensity that done during the monsoon period of 1964.

- v. If patrols of India and Pakistan police should come into contact they will not interfere with each other and in particular will act in accordance with India-West Pakistan Ground Rules agreed to in January 1960;
  - vi. Officials of the two Governments will meet immediately after the cease-fire and from time to time thereafter as may prove desirable in order to consider whether any problems arise in the implementation of the provisions of paragraph (iii) to (v) above and to agree on the settlement of any such problems.
- 

The cease-fire agreement on Kutch fulfilled the Indian demand and withdrawal of Pakistani troops which should have vacated her aggression on Biarbet, Kanjarkot and point 84 before any talks could be held. This was dis-satisfactory to opposition parties. Pakistan read the cease-fire agreement as a territorial agreement, while India learnt it as border agreement.

Following cease-fire agreement and withdrawal of troops series of meetings at various levels were held and discussions galore followed day after day.

Mr. Bhutto, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, who was to visit Delhi for talks on Kutch was asked not to come on 20th August 1965, on account on frequent raids and attacks by Pakistani infiltrators on Kashmir.

The Parliament gave its approval to the Kutch cease-fire agreement with Pakistan by an overwhelming majority on August 18th, 1965.

India has told Pakistan that the Kutch border question can now straight away be referred to a tribunal as provided under the agreement signed by the two countries on June 30th, instead of futile discussions. This message was sent by External Affairs Minister Mr. Swaran Singh to Pakistan Foreign Minister Mr. Z.A. Bhutto suggesting that the ministerial meeting on

august 20th, need not take place in view of the deteriorating relations between the two countries.

Prime Minister said, "If Pakistan continued her aggression India would not limit itself to defencive measures but would strike back".

Prime Minister Mr. Shastri made it clear that what the tribunal would have to decide was the determination of the border when the state of Kutch merged with the erstwhile state of Bombay. If that particular point was taken up, the Government would have enough proof of documents and copies of old maps to show that the border was where it was today. Pakistan could not have any claim in that area.

### KUTCH AWARD by International Tribunal:

In accordance with the terms of the agreement, India nominated Ambassador Mr. Ales Babler, Judge of the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia, and Pakistan nominated Ambassador Mr. Nasrollah Entzam of Iran and the Secretary General of the United Nations appointed Judge Gunnar Lagergen of the Stockholm Court of Appeals, Sweden.

The decision required of the tribunal was fixation of boundary line between Sind and Rann of Kutch but not of fixation of territory. Unfortunately the tribunal went out of its terms and gave away 3500 square miles of territory to Pakistan.

The next issue to be determined was as to where exactly the boundary has to be demarcated between the countries along with northern edge of Rann. There was a difference of opinion among the members of the tribunal. Two members of the tribunal held that Dhara Bani, Chhad Bet and Kanjarkot should go to Pakistan. Because although the maps did not support Pakistan's case Sind had exercised acts of jurisdiction prior to 1947 which amounted to acts of soverignty and showed that Sind treated those two areas as forming a part of Sind. The third member did not agree with this view of the two members. He said that the so called acts of jurisdiction were wholly insufficient to show that it was exercise of rights of soverignty over the territory in question. Will acts of jurisdiction made or framed by one State on its own, confer right of soverignty to that

State over territory for which such acts are made? Important maps and other recorded evidence were satisfactorily produced by the Indian delegation before the Tribunal, to prove the contention of the third member of the Tribunal.

More than all, the evidence of a Survey carried on in Sind by one Mr. Macdonald from 1855 to 1870 fixed up boundaries of the province of Sind precisely. In the maps prepared by Macdonald, it is shown that the southern border of Sind runs along the northern edge of Rann of Kutch. This supports completely India's case. What is more, a dispute having arisen between Kutch Durbar and Government of British India in 1914 with regard to the true alignment of boundary in the Western sector, the question was resolved by a resolution passed by Government of India accepting the boundary between Sind and Kutch as fixed by Macdonald.

Sind was formed into a separate State in 1935. In the demarcation drawn up for Sind State, boundaries between Sind and Kutch agree with claims made by India.

At the time of partition of India in 1947, according to Red Cliff Award the Province of Sind was allotted to Pakistan. No boundaries were fixed up by Red Cliff.

Therefore the Tribunal had to fix up where exactly the boundary like between Sind and Kutch lay in 1947, when two independent States came into existence.

This was the crux of the whole problem to be determined by the International Tribunal. The Chairman of the Tribunal was more intent on establishing peace between India and Pakistan then and in future. These were pockets said to belong to India surrounded all round by patches of Sind territory according to maps produced. On examination of these points the Chairman expressed in his Award that "in my opinion it would be inequitable to recognise these inlets as foreign territory. It would be conducive to friction and conflict. The paramount consideration of promoting peace and stability in this region compels the recognition and confirmation that this territory which is wholly surrounded by Pakistan territory also be regarded as such". Therefore these areas were given to Pakistan on the

ground of promoting peace and stability. This clearly shows he has gone beyond the terms of reference fixed for Tribunal. Accordingly, the Tribunal gave away areas like Dharabani, Chhad Bet and Kanjarkot and few other pockets to Pakistan, not minding terms of reference fixed for the Tribunal. Here it should be noted that the agreement both countries entered into while entrusting the case for Tribunal Award " provided the decision of the Tribunal shall be binding on both the Governments and shall not be questioned on any ground whatsoever". Chairman also knew that terms of reference were not mere demarcation of boundaries. "Wherever it is necessary that after *status quo* has been established in the aforesaid Gujarat-West Pakistan border area, arrangements should be made for determination and demarcation of the border in the areas. Thus Governments of both India and Pakistan were bound by agreement to accept the decision of the Tribunal" - In this case the Award worked very much against India while benefitting Pakistan.

On a motion "that this House disapproves of the Award (Feb. 19, 1968) of the Indo-Pakistan Western boundary case awarded by Tribunal on the Rann of Kutch was moved by Raj Narain in Rajya Sabha on 19th February 1968, which came up for discussion on 5th March 1968; the problem was discussed on all its aspects. Mr. M.C. Chagla denounced the Award. He said "because India always stood for peace, because of World opinion, because of reaction on our friendly countries, because of our relations with Pakistan, notwithstanding illegality of the Award, we should accept it."

After all Tribunal was called upon to determine what the boundary between Sind and Kutch was, not what it ought to be - Tribunal has given an Award on the basis of what the boundary ought to be. The Award will go down in the history as a Political Award and not a Judicial Award. Raj Narain's motion was thrown out which in effect means Parliament has accepted the illegal Award and that for the sake of buying peace with Pakistan. But for Pakistan it has turned out to be the first fruit of aggression.

But India has to learn a lesson. She should not rush to arbitration by International Tribunal for any settlement of disputes between nations. We have border disputes with China, "Once bitten twice shy".

## CHAPTER 9

### AYUB POSES OBJECTS

"India and Pakistan are neighbours for better or for worse, why not try the alternative of living together for better"?

*"President Ayub Khan"*

President Ayub Khan in his first of the month broadcast to the nation on First of June 1964 while conveying to the people of India the sincere condolences on his as well as on behalf of his people on the death of Nehru, pleaded for a fresh look at our relationship at the hands of the new leadership of India.

He said "India and Pakistan are neighbours for better or for worse. Why not try the alternatives of living together for better"? This is a very fine sentiment. But what is regrettable is this wisdom has dawned on the leadership of Pakistan after 17 years of fear and bitter hatred against India continuously kept fanning in all their activities, national and international. I do not recollect such expression of good heart even on a single occasion within this 17 year period when our great and illustrious leader Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru was alive. Such an attitude of good heart on the part of Pakistan would have greatly comforted our late Leader if ever it had been expressed to him.

"Here lies our future and not in preparing for war with each other which is such a waste of human and economic resources, even if no actual war takes place". It looks this truth has dawned on Ayub Khan for which he deserves to be congratulated. Futility of preparing for war against India has been realised and better late than never. Our late Prime Minister motivated with same desire that is now expressed by President Ayub Khan offered to enter into friendship pact with Pakistan as early as 1956. "Friendship Pact" so willingly and affectionately offered was rejected outright by the General then. At every significant turn of event this offer was repeated by our late Prime Minister with no response from Pakistan. How happy our late leader would have been if during his life time such gesture had been

shown by Pakistan. Alliances of various kinds and military pacts were entered into against the interests of India and vast military preparations were launched by Pakistan. The fact that alliances were made even with China just at the time when China was continuing her aggression against India remains too conspicuous to be forgotten by history.

But what is gratifying indeed is that President Ayub Khan sees the possibility of change of heart the need for which is felt very vividly now.

Speaking of Kashmir, President Ayub Khan said "a dispute exists and it is vital to settle this issue on an equitable basis and without any delay". This by itself would have befitted the occasion. It is followed by the qualifying clause "for, the people of Kashmir who are rightly agitated will not wait indefinitely". This attempt to incite people of Kashmir against India introduced in a subtle manner is a threat posed against India. What otherwise would have been a good gesture is marred by such wilful threats. The argument that "we must get rid of the morbid fear that any settlement of this dispute will jeopardise the position of minorities and on the contrary I believe that the Kashmir dispute is responsible for agitating communal passions" - Suits Pakistan because the entire minority community from West Pakistan has been exterminated and a process of liquidation of minorities from east Pakistan has been set afoot. If for the loss of holy prophet's hair in Srinagar, minorities in East Pakistan are slaughtered and turned out of the country in lakhs it can be better be imagined what concern for safety of life and property of minorities is evinced by Pakistan leadership. It would be better appreciated all over the civilised world if the sentiment expressed by Ayub Khan such as "No organised or civilised government can treat a large section of its population as hostages" is translated into action in Pakistan.

All that he says about Indian Muslim minority "given the chance it could be of great strength and benefit to India and no person justly can believe that the Indian Muslims constitute any threat to the security of India" is already the firm faith and belief of India. It could be seen in the fact that India is a secular state, by law established. It was redundant for Ayub Khan to have dealt on it. It is appropriate at this stage to pose the question,

does Mr. Ayub Khan and his people believe that Pakistan Hindu minorities are a source of strength and benefit to Pakistan? If they do, why this process of extermination of minorities on every conceivable and flimsy pretext.

What Mr. Sheikh Abdulla has spoken to Mr. Ayub Khan is not publicly known. But whatever he has said on this subject so far publicly points out to one fact that nothing should be done to damage the secular character of the Government of India. Any solution of the Kashmir dispute must primarily be subjected to this all important condition of secularism of the state.

President Ayub Khan is anxious to have working agreement in Pakistan's relationship with India without waiting for close friendship which should be the proper relationship between the two countries. This depends mainly on the attitude of Pakistan towards Kashmir question. The basic attitude towards the Issue has been defined on principles and not at conveniences and they are :-

- a. Fostering and development of the established secular ideals in India.
- b. Forces of communal harmony should be developed.
- c. The solution promote cordial and friendly relations between India and Pakistan.

Conversely any solution not in conformity with the above should be eschewed by Pakistan, more particularly by leader Mr. Sheikh Abdulla.

### **Pakistan Attacks Kashmir.**

While the situation in Sind-Kutch border was still un-settled and frequent disturbances were taking place Pakistan soldiers started intruding into Jammu and Kashmir. The scene of disturbance was shifted by Pakistan from South to far North.

Indian troops had intensified their patrolling effectively to deal with the activities of the Pakistani saboteurs, who were infiltrating across the cease fire line in Jammu and Kashmir. Heavy casualties were inflicted on armed Pakistanis in Kashmir

Valley by Indian security forces on 10th August. Among the prisoners captured there were some from the armed Pakistani forces. Pakistan armies attack on Kashmir had their own repurcussion on Kutch. Pakistani latest armed intrusion into Kashmir was on a scale without precedent since 1947.

The purpose of mounting so massive an operation, with well armed troops of the regular Pakistani army comouflaged as civilians, seemed to be two fold — to prepare the ground for annexing Kashmir by force if possible, or failing that, to stir up as much trouble as possible for India. This was to show to the world there was kashmir uprising against India.

Mr. Shastri recalled Pakistan's aggression on the Kutch border and said that after the cease fire agreement which held hopes of improved relations, "it is amazing that Pakistan should have now embarked upon yet another adventure". Pakistan has probably taken a deliberate decision to keep up an atmosphere of tension. Peace apparently does not suit her intentions. We have, therefore, to reckon with this situation in a realistic manner. The entire country solidly stood with Jammu and Kashmir.

The strength of a country is not measured in terms of its armed might alone. For the armed might to be effective and sustained there are four essential pre-requisites.

1. A people with a high morale whose spirits are at their best when things are at their worst.
2. Economic stability
3. Industrial self - sufficiency as far as possible.
4. A virile people - virile physically, mentally and morally.

Srinagar - Leh road is the most important route to reach Ladakh. On the way Kargil hills in Pakistan were most dangerous. Out troops had taken over this Kargil which was re-captured by Pakistani army. This Kargil posts was re-captured by Indian army on 17, May, when attacks were made to cut off and capture Srinagar Leh road at Kargil.

Pakistan started this attack on Kashmir on the eve of Independence day. It is a challenge to India's integrity. It is as bad an adventure as that of Kutch. Alerted Indian army stood all along the cease fire to meet the Pakistani incursion and repelled them everywhere.

The state of Jammu and Kashmir formed local military committees for defence of the country all along the cease fire line. In the meanwhile the Pakistani army replaced raiders all long the cease-fire line.

Hard days lay ahead and the country should be bold to face it. Attack of Pakistani army on Jammu and Kashmir was both extended and intensified almost turning into a war; Indian Prime Minister announced in a cheering Lok Sabha that the Indian army has been ordered to take whatever steps were necessary "to protect our border" in Kashmir.

Forces shall be met with forces said Mr. Chavan - "In order to push out all infiltrators, and to prevent further infiltration and to keep a watch on the retreat routes of the infiltrators, our security forces have crossed the cease fire line at several points. In this process they have captured not only men but also vast material."

The Soviet Union on 24th August, 1965 for the first time reiterated its stand that Kashmir is an integral part of India and hoped that a settlement of the present situation in Kashmir would be brought about peacefully between India and Pakistan, thus asking that bloodshed should be stopped.

On 29th August stiff fighting was going on. Pakistan troops renewed attacks in Kargil, Hajipir, and Uri Poonch areas. The Indian forces pursued the enemy troops relentlessly in all the sectors along the cease-fire line in Kashmir. Pakistan troops launched attack on a massive scale in Chhamb sector but they were repelled by our infantry supported by air force.

American Sabre Jets were used by Pakistan for the first time. But our IAF either shot down these jets or drove them back to Pakistan blazing. Several tanks and many vehicles were set ablaze as they entered into Indian territory. The fighting in

Kashmir sector entered a new phase when Pakistan rushed in with tanks, bombs and heavy artillery. With under destruction of enemy force and artillery in Chhamb sector our forces were able to arrest any further advance of the enemy.

It is a matter for surprise that Marshal Chen Yi, Chinese Foreign Minister should come forward to support Pakistan in un-abashed aggression. He seems to have said "his Government condemned the Indian provocation against Pakistan". What a big lie uttered by what a big man of what a big neighbour.

At this stage Mr. Ayub Khan approached world powers like De Gaulle of France and others to interfere to stop the war. Those approached included Mr. Sukarno of Indonesia, Tito and President Nasser requesting them to use their good offices to make India withdraw from their positions on the cease-fire line. All the while Pakistan soldiers in the guise of civilians entered into Kashmir to do havoc from within. Our forces estimated such infiltrators to be of the order of 5,000 or more.

Our forces marched into West Pakistan after defeating attacking forces of Pakistan 12 miles deep in West Punjab capturing Lahore Air-Port. This is a remarkable success and our forces should be heartily congratulated.

The UNO circles were deeply shocked at the turn the struggle had taken on cease-fire line between India and Pakistan. The Security Council also took note of the serious situation. Mr. U. Thant, Secretary General, called for a meeting of the members to acquaint them with the situation in Pakistan. The Security Council had already called for a cease-fire in the war between India and Pakistan for which there was no response. Reports from UNO observers also came regarding the severity of fighting. India claimed that her aim was to destroy the bases from which the Pakistani forces attacked Kashmir. That was the only intention of the Indian forces. At this hour of crisis Mr. Ayub Khan broadcast to the nation that their hour of trial had come and that this was a war and a state of emergency had been declared in Pakistan.

UNO Secretary General Mr. U Thant had certain suggestions to put to Pakistan and India on his mission to stop

fighting. The Security Council had passed two resolutions - one on 4th September and another on 6th calling for the cessation of hostilities in the area and withdrawal of armed forces and personnel to positions existed before August 5th.

"President Ayub Khan told that he rejected UN Council resolutions. It could be stopped, according to him, only if India agrees for a plebiscite in Kashmir. India on the other hand insisted that first Pakistan should be declared an aggressor and all Pakistan armies should be withdrawn from Kashmir.

Mr. Wilson, Herald the Prime Minister of Great Britain expressed his desire to interfere in the India-Pakistan war if Mr. U Thant failed. He was thinking of a mission consisting of Canadian President Mr. Pearson and Sir Abubaker of Kenya and Mr. Arthur bottomley, Secretary of Common-wealth to go to the spot and speak to both Sri. Lal Bahadur Shastri and Sri. Ayub Khan. Mr. Wilson, the British Premier had agreed to lead the mission if others agree.

The performance on the front by Indian forces had been glorious. Their defeating the Pakistan forces and reaching their bases to destroy them and capture of Lahore Air Port should be written in letters of gold by future historians.

Mr. Brezhnev, President of USSR, interested as he was in peace, appealed to both India and Pakistan to stop fighting and withdraw to their own positions on 5th of August, 1965. Mr. Kosygin also wrote to both the countries to stop fighting. India was fighting not for territory but for the principles that sustain a democratic system, committed to secularism, as against the theocratic dictatorship.

The Soviet Prime Minister Mr. Alexei Kosygin had sent a message to Prime Minister Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri and President Ayub Khan urging them to end military operations, stop the tanks and silence the guns, and stating that the sides should enter into negotiations to settle peacefully. He was afraid the struggle might enlarge itself into a war. In the letter Mr. Kosygin had offered the good offices of the Soviet Union to bring peace in the area if both the sides consider. The offer of good offices for settlement of the disputes was distinctly

different from either Security Council resolutions or Mr. Brezhnev letter. This offer of good offices gave to the world a hope of settlement of Indo-Pakistan War.

Mr. Shastri began talks with Mr. U. Thant on the mission he had been sent to make India and Pakistan to accept UN resolution. Mr. U. Thant's mission was rejected by Mr. Ayub Khan as the cease-fire were not negotiable. After reporting his discussions with the parties in the first visit to the members of the council, the Secretary General, U. Thant made a second visit to the sub-continent and during this visit he carried the message -

1. Immediate cessation of hostilities between India and Pakistan; and
2. Holding face-to-face meeting between Prime Minister Shri. Lal Bahadur Shastri and President Ayub Khan.

Mr. Ayub rejected this proposal also and demanded effective machinery and procedure that would lead to a final settlement of the Kashmir dispute — Thereby wanting a plebescite in Kashmir.

Mr. Nasser of Egypt opposed the inclusion of self determination for Kashmir in the Arab summit's appeal to India and Pakistan to stop fighting. Heads of Arab States asked both parties to accept UNO resolutions of 4th and 6th September.

The Soviet Union suggested Tashkent, Capital of Uzbekistan, as the venue for a meeting between Prime Minister Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri and President Mr. Ayub Khan, as per U. Thant's suggestion to hold the meeting in a neutral country. India sent a positive reply to this suggestion, Pakistan did not do it.

On 20th September 1965, the military positions were as follows :-

1. In the Chhamb-Jawrian sector in Jammu from Chhamb-Jawrian sector IAF attacked Gun positions of Pakistan. In one engagement alone 33 Pakistani soldiers were killed and another 30 wounded.

2. In the Sialkot sector, Indian forces made further advances. They had cleared the enemy from Jassoran area on the West side of the Passur Sialkot railway.
3. Indian forces had continued their advances southwards and had reached Butur, Dograndi, South West of Chawinda.
4. The enemy forces are being strengthened around Lahore to prevent further advances of Indian forces from the occupied airport.

India is understood to have expressed appreciation of the Soviet invitation to the leaders of India and Pakistan to meet at Tashkent for direct talks to settle their differences.

Mr. Bhutto, Foreign Minister of Pakistan has been instructed by President Mr. Ayub Khan to go to New York to make personal appearance before the UN Security Council which has demanded cessation of hostilities.

Pakistan handed over a non-committal reply to the Soviet premier Alexei Kosygin's offer to mediate in the Indo-Pakistani war. Pakistan had told the Soviet Union that a suggested meeting between Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri and President Mr. Ayub Khan on Soviet territory should await the outcome of UN effort for a cease-fire. The reply was interpreted as "neither acceptance, nor rejection".

On 23rd September, 1965, Pakistan climbed down, and accepted Truce Cease-Fire from 03.30 hours which UN extended as deadline. Pakistan accepted the terms of UN council. Though Mr. Ayub Khan accepted the cease fire resolution of UN, he announced to his nation that Pakistan's struggle with India would not be over with the UN cease fire. It now enters a new phase; he announced that the UN council resolution of 20th September was inadequate and unsatisfactory, but in the interest of International peace, she would stop fighting on 23rd September.

It may be said without a fear of contradiction that Mr. Ayub Khan accepted the resolution under fear that he may lose his face.

It is most regrettable that Pakistan, in spite of accepting the cease fire resolution, chose to bomb Amristar in daylight, causing damages to life and property. This shows how bitter Pakistanis were against the might of India and what is more Pakistani violations continued long after the dead line date fixed by UN council and thus defied the resolution.

After receiving a report of numerous violations of cease fire terms by Pakistan all long the line UN repeated its appeal to Pakistan not to violate the cease-fire and to obey the terms of cease fire resolution. Mr. Thant also reported to the council the fact of numerous violations committed by Pakistan.

The Prime Minister Shri. Lal Bahadur Shastri was forced to send to UN council a mass of evidence of Pakistani violations of cease-fire agreement to request UN council to prevent it at any cost.

The truce cease-fire line as proposed by UN council was accepted both by India and Pakistan on 23rd September 1965. In spite of acceptance Pakistan kept on intruding into Kashmir in several places. It is said that the violations of cease-fire line was committed by Pakistan as many as 1,000 times as reported by UN observers. Therefore India was forced to keep active all along the line — both international and cease fire line. Hon. Sri. Swarah Singh gave a detailed picture of the situation in his speech on 22nd November 1965, in Rajya Sabha. The following is the speech given :

Sri. Swarah Singh said :-

. After the Rajya Sabha adjourned for recess, there have been many developments on the ground and also in the international sphere. It is not my intension to go into the details of the acts of aggression indulged in by Pakistan commencing from 5th August. During the last session and also at the beginning of this session, this hon. House has been kept fully informed about the situation on the ground by the many statements that have been made by the Prime Minister of India and by the Defence Minister of India. Briefly, this massive aggression started on 5th of August when large number of armed personnel from Pakistan crossed into the state of Jammu

and Kashmir. It was a regular aggression although the persons who committed aggression were not in uniform. It was an act of aggression undertaken after a great deal of preparation, a great deal of training which was imparted to these groups. The training was given to them in Pakistan and in that part of Kashmir which is occupied by Pakistan. These persons who crossed over came well armed with modern automatic weapons and other communication equipment and several other facilities which are the normal concomitants of regular forces.

We approached pakistan through our High Commissioner. But it is interesting that the President of Pakistan, notwithstanding the fact that the High Commissioner mentioned to him that he had a message from our Prime Minister, did not find it necessary to see our High Commissioner. The Foreign Minister of Pakistan and its Foreign Secretary did see our High Commissioner. But they said that Pakistan had nothing to do with these armed aggressors and it was some local revolution. The whole world knows by now that this story, this fiction of armed revolution in the state of Jammu & Kashmir exists only in the imagination of Pakistani leaders and there is no such thing in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. When Pakistan did not accept the responsibility for this aggression, India had to take limited defensive action to deal with these infiltrators in our territory and it also had to take some preventive action. Indian forces moved into the main points of ingress which were used by these infiltrators because we had definite information that several other groups in hundreds and thousands were poised for further aggression in to our territory.

After this, the massive aggression by Pakistani forces started on the 1st of September. When Pakistani forces fully armed with modern tanks, with air support and in regular formations crossed into the state of Jammu & Kashmir, crossing over not only the cease-fire line but also the International boundary, and for several days they were committing aggression advancing into our territory and were threatening to destroy the only lines of communication between the rest and the several parts of the state of Kashmir. When we were faced with that position, we had to take defensive action in moving into the territory of West Pakistan on 6th of September when our

armed forces crossed over into the Sialkot and Lahore areas. I am mentioning these dates because some supporters of Pakistan always pick up the thread relating to this aggression from 6th of September when the Indian forces, in the exercise of their right of defending our country moved into Pakistan's territory when our own lines of communication and our territory in Jammu and Kashmir were seriously threatened by a full scale aggression by Pakistan which had commenced on 1st September.

It is significant that Pakistan always talks of this conflict as having started on 6th of September and all that happened from 5th of August to 5th of September is conveniently forgotten. The world knows that Pakistan started this aggression starting from the 5th of August with all the facts that I have narrated a moment ago.

Then, Sir, we have to see as to what were the objectives before the Pakistani leaders when they started this aggression and moved their forces into the state of Jammu and Kashmir on 1st of September and what were the postures of Pakistani leaders even subsequent to the 1st of September. It is important to note this because unless we know what were the particular objectives with which they had embarked upon this aggression, we will not be able to find out their subsequent postures correctly and we will not be able to make a full assessment of their designs.

Mr. Chairman, on 1st of September when the Pakistani armies advanced into the Chhamb-Jaurian sector, President Ayub Khan of Pakistan made a statement saying that Pakistan was going to the assistance of the people of Jammu and Kashmir who were locked in a struggle against Indian armed forces. This was the object with which President Ayub Khan had embarked upon this aggression. Afterwards, when the Secretary General made an appeal to both the countries in the month of September calling upon them to observe cease-fire, the President of Pakistan immediately replied to the following effect. He said:

"The concern of the United Nations must extend to the implementation of UNCIP resolution, as well as to the

observance of the cease-fire agreement. The cease-fire was only the first part to inter-related and integral whole and, therefore, insistence on a cease-fire can only be meaningful if there is a self-implementing agreement to follow it."

At each stage, while embarking upon aggression, in response to any overtures or appeals made for restoration of peace, Pakistan was always linking the political objective with this conflict.

Then, Sir, after earlier resolutions of the Security Council in the beginning of September, the Secretary General paid a visit to the sub-continent and visited both India and Pakistan and in the course of his talks with President Ayub Khan and Prime Minister Mr. Shastri he discussed the various aspects and thereafter addressed an appeal to both the Heads of Governments to observe immediate cease-fire without any pre-conditions. President Ayub Khan in his response, which is contained in a written letter dated the 13th September, again linked political conditions to the following effect. In his reply he said:

"We would, therefore, urge that if the conflict is to be resolved and this sub-continent spared the horrors of even wider war, the cease-fire must be accompanied by action which should resolve the real cause of this conflict. This would be possible if the cease-fire is followed immediately by a complete withdrawal of the Indian and Pakistani forces from the state of Jammu and Kashmir, the induction of the United Nations sponsored Afro-Asian forces to maintain order in the state, and the holding of plebiscite in the state within three months".

So this was the response to the call for peace. Whereas the whole world was anxious that the shooting war should come to an end, here was President Ayub Khan who was trying to link it with impossible conditions, conditions which he knew would never be acceptable to India. To suggest that India should withdraw Indian forces from the state of Jammu and Kashmir is something which is preposterous and totally unacceptable to us. And still that was the condition, along with several others, that President Ayub put forward to the Secretary General's appeal.

Then, Mr. Chairman, the Security Council met and adopted the resolution of the 20th September. I will not go into detail because that matter was discussed in great detail on an earlier occasion; I would not go into these detail at all. I would, however, like to point out one thing, namely, that the resolution of the 20th September, even when it was being adopted by the Security Council, was not acceptable to Pakistan because the Pakistan's representative made a statement towards the end of the Security Council discussions on the 20th September and said —

"I would, therefore, request the members of the Council to consider these aspects again and not to accept and adopt this draft resolution".

There was a very clear stand that Pakistan had taken with regard to the resolution of the 20th September.

Sir, I would also like to mention that the representative of Jordan, who during the Security Council meeting, from the very beginning had taken an attitude which was not an objective attitude but was heavily loaded in favour of Pakistan, abstained from supporting this resolution of the 20th September presumably on the ground that it would not meet the Pakistani view point. This is the resolution that was adopted on 20th September. Therefore, Mr. Chairman, towards the conclusion of the last Rajya Sabha session, the Government was able to announce that cease-fire effective from 23rd September was being accepted. We have now to take into consideration the events that took place after the cease-fire.

Sir, after a lapse of about two months, the position on the ground is fully known to this Honourable House. Unfortunately, violations of the cease-fire agreement by Pakistani troops still continue. Till to-day over a thousand of these violations have been reported by the Indian side through their representative and also through the armed forces to the United Nations Military Observers and to the United Nations.

Violations really would be after cease-fire because before cease-fire fighting was going on. So, Mr. Chairman, the position on the ground, particularly in the Rajasthan sector, has been

particularly disquieting. It appears that Pakistani leaders during the continuance of the hostilities had fed their people on exaggerated accounts of the Pakistan success on the battle field, and when the actual cease-fire came about, they knew the real truth, the physical presence of the Indian forces in the Sialkot and Lahore sectors would be there for anybody to see. They started thereafter the persistent effort to take possession, by committing further aggression, of large areas in the Rajasthan area because in that area, as the honourable members are no doubt aware, there is not much population and just by taking a few handful of troops they can demonstrate that they have taken possession of large areas. Just by taking a round, they can tell their own people that they have taken possession of large area in th Rajasthan territory.

I am mentioning all these facts because this attitude has to be weighed in the light of the various postures that had been consistently adopted by the Pakistani leaders. They had embarked upon this aggression with particular objective. At every stage they were trying to bring in efforts for peace with the realisation of their objective, and even after the cease-fire was brought, they still continued to persist in pursuing their objective.

It is true, Mr. Chairman, that the original rather bellicose statements when the Pakistan Foreign Minister talked of war of thousand years are now no longer heard. Still the thousand year war now is put forward as a continuous confrontation till the Kashmir problem is solved, not on merits or on facts, but in accordance with the way Pakistan desired that it should be solved. So, if this is the type of attitude, we have to very seriously consider as to whether Pakistan is serious in maintaining peace and in co-operating in a purposeful manner in working out plans for withdrawal of armed forces. We on our side have made the point clear that this war had been forced upon us by Pakistani aggression. That is the real fact, the central fact of this India-Pakistan conflict, namely Pakistan's aggression.

We are prepared to observe peace. We are prepared to work out plans for withdrawals also. But such plans must include all armed personnel, and we must be assured that there will not be further repetitions of the state of affairs that

we had to face starting from the 5th August. But any attempt to link these peace efforts with any so-called political issues is something which is totally unacceptable to India. We have made the position firmly clear in the U.N., in the international community and to all members of Security Council and all other states that Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India and no amount of pressurisation will deflect India from this firm stand. This is the clear position that we want to be understood and let there be no ambiguity on that score. In this light we have to view the meeting of the last Security Council or the series of Security Council meetings. At the time of the last Security Council meeting, Pakistan had made a complaint that certain things were happening in the state of Jammu and Kashmir, particularly in the valley which she wanted to raise in the Security Council. These related to arrests of leaders, students agitation and several other law and order matters which are within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir. India made the position clear that India is prepared to co-operate with the efforts that might be made by the Security Council to restore peace and also to engage in working out plans for withdrawal of all armed personnel but the internal situation in Jammu and Kashmir is a matter which is entirely within the jurisdiction of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir, a Government elected on adult franchise and responsible to the local legislature. Any dragging of India into any international forum and to make India answerable to what happens in the valley is something which is totally unacceptable to us. So it was on that basis that we took the stand and when Pakistan persisted and the Security Council actually brought on the agenda the Pakistani complaint, we made the position clear and we said: "We are not prepared to participate in these discussions". We disassociated ourselves from any discussions of a like description. In retrospect, I am fully convinced that the step that we took was the correct one, the right one and it did impress all members of the Security Council by the stand of the Government of India and also by the seriousness that India attaches to this problem. It is true that in the past sometimes discussions about purely this internal situation not only in Kashmir but in several other parts of India did come up for a sort of mention by one party and contradiction by the other in earlier meetings of the Security Council but let us not

forget that those meetings were held in a different context altogether. In the present stage when Pakistan resorted to acts of aggression, when she sent these armed people in thousands and created a situation there which had to be tackled by the local Government, by the state Government, as a law and order situation, we cannot accept that position. Pakistan on the one hand continues to commit this surreptitious creeping aggression and at the same time drags us to the international forum and asks us to explain the various things which she herself had initiated by resorting to that act of aggression. This is the position and we cannot permit Pakistan to have it both ways to continue this type of aggression and create difficulties and when a local Government established by law tackles it in a proper manner, in a manner which they think proper, they are not answerable to any international community. I want to make the positioned clear. I do not want other countries to have any misunderstanding about our position. We are anxious to explain to everyone that what is being done in Jammu and Kashmir is something normal, something usual and is the handling of a law and order situation but we are certainly not answerable or accountable to any international forum, not even the Security Council, about the manner in which we run our affairs or the Government of Jammu and Kashmir run their affairs in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. This was a basic point and we stuck to it and it had the desired effect. In the Security Council discussions members were careful not to adopt anything which might go beyond the earlier resolutions and they reiterated only the earlier resolution of September 20th. Suddenly this repetition or reiteration of 20th September resolution which was unacceptable to the Chief Delegate of Pakistan when it was adopted on 20th September, when it is reiterated now, is described by Pakistani leaders as something acceptable to them. Well , I welcome this change and I hope that this change of attitude is genuine and they are genuinely interested in restoring peace but I am sorry that at the same time although they have come down a great deal from their original talk of a thousand years war and are now talking of confrontation, even this talk of confrontation is nothing but bellicosity and the sooner they give up this bellicose attitude the better for them and they can view the whole situation in the proper perspective and may not continue to cling to shadows and some imaginary ideas about this.

During this conflict, Pakistan committed several other acts of a highly reprehensible character. The manner in which they treated our High Commission staff and the High Commissioner himself in Karachi and elsewhere is something which is unheard of in diplomatic history anywhere in the world. Hostilities had broken out in other parts of the world but that the residence of the High Commissioner should be searched and that the members of the High Commission should be subjected to all indignities including searches is something which is unheard of in the international relations anywhere, in any part of the world.

Then these illegal acts like seizure of several cargoes and ships and the like is something which is absolutely unjustified. I do not want to go into all those details. There is one other thing which I would like to mention about this before I pass on to other matters.

The collusion between Pakistan and China about which we were aware for several years and some idea of which was available when the Pakistan and Indian foreign Minister's conference started in Rawalpindi in December 1962, appears to have become much deeper in the course of these years. I would like to recall to this House that in 1962 also when the two Ministers, myself and Mr. Bhutto, were to talk about an equitable settlement between the two countries, about Kashmir and other matters, and I visited Rawalpindi for those discussions, when I reached there, when on the next day the discussions were to start, on the previous evening, Pakistan and China had announced that an agreement had been arrived at between China and Pakistan about the settlement of the boundary between the Sinkiang Province of China and the state of Jammu and Kashmir. It was very striking that they were discussing the question of Jammu and Kashmir. It was very striking that they were discussing the question of Jammu and Kashmir with India and when the discussions were to start and these discussions were initiated as a result of the Chinese aggression upon India and when the talks were to start on the next day, on the day before that they announced an agreement in principle between Pakistan and China about a part of Kashmir which was the subject matter of the discussion. Over these years this thing

which was exhibited at that time developed and it appears it became very thick. When the two forces - the armed forces of India and Pakistan were interlocked and fierce battles were going on and the Pakistani forces were retreating at several of these fronts, in the month of September, China came to Pakistan's rescue, and gave India an ultimatum on the 16th of September completely toeing the Pakistani line on the issue of Jammu and Kashmir and also hurling accusations against India, which were so trivial, and the language was highly offensive and highly provocative. There could not be a clearer proof of collusion and working together between Pakistan and China than the timing of that ultimatum to India and also, if we look at the content of that ultimatum, no doubt is left about this sinister collusion.

Mr. Chairman, we have to face both these dangers, from China as well as from Pakistan, and in that respect I am sure that the great patience shown by the people in India, the valour of our armed forces, the vigilance of our police and the very hard and sustained work put in by all people who were entrusted with this task of defending the honour and integrity of India at the crucial time will always be there to meet any challenge that India may have to face again. We have to be in this state of preparedness and we cannot relax our efforts in this connection.

During this period, Mr. Chairman, we had experience of many kinds. We had, on the one hand, the support and understanding and objective appreciation of our position in this India-Pakistan conflict from several countries, and we were also surprised and pained to find that certain countries did not bring in the requisite objectivity in understanding our view point and took attitudes which were not based on facts, which were partial to Pakistan and loaded against us. It is not my intention, Mr. Chairman, at any rate in my opening remarks to go into any great deal about all that, but there are some countries, which I would like to mention even at this stage, and I would reserve my remarks for reply with regard to others. Amongst the non-aligned countries we had great understanding of our position by Yugoslavia and also by the United Arab Republic. Yugoslavia is an important non-aligned country and we have

always had the best of relations and co-operation with Yugoslavia. Our Prime Minister visited Yugoslavia a few months back, and our President visited Yugoslavia after the present conflict. On both these occasions our Prime Minister and our President were received with great warmth by the people and the Government of Yugoslavia, and there was a complete understanding of our position in this conflict and our position in Kashmir. We greatly value this friendship, and this shows that, amongst the non-aligned countries, those countries which have kept themselves informed appreciate our position, and they know that India's stand in relation to Kashmir and also in this conflict is a just one and a correct one. All this is reflected in the communique also, which was issued at the end of our President's visit to Yugoslavia. We have also other very close relations, economic and the like, with Yugoslavia-trade, commerce, technological association and collaboration. President Nasser of UAR has always shown a great deal of understanding about all matters concerning this part, and he knows fully well the relationship between India and Pakistan, and India's position in Kashmir, and it is no secret if I were to say that it was the efforts of President Nasser and some of his other colleagues at the time of the meeting of the Arab Summit Leaders at Casablanca that the resolution that was adopted at Casablanca, a resolution in terms, and notwithstanding the efforts of several other countries which were represented in that conference, Pakistan's view point either about the plebiscite or about the earlier resolutions of the UN Security Council of 1948 and 1949 were not mentioned in that resolution. Otherwise also the attitude of UAR President has been one of understanding. There are several Arab countries which have been approached by Pakistan in the name of religion, but they have consistently turned down that appeal, and they are conscious of the fact that the problem of Kashmir in relation to India is not a religious question. And even on the basis of the number of muslims in Jammu and Kashmir, it is only five per cent of the total number of muslims in India, and therefore to treat this as a religious issue in the name of any religion is something which is not accepted by a large number of Arab countries. And we have, therefore, to continue our efforts to explain our view point and to cultivate our friendship with non-aligned countries.



“Jai Jawan, Jai Kisan.”



The statement of Defence Minister Mr. Swaran Singh presented a full picture of the situation obtaining along the cease-fire line as well as international line between Pakistan and India. India accepted the invitation of Mr., Kosygin to meet at Tashkent. Willy-nilly President Ayub Khan also accepted Mr. Kosygin's invitation for the said meeting. January 4th, 1966, was fixed as the date for the meeting and Tashkent as the venue for the conference of Prime Minister Sri. Shastri and President Ayub Khan under the immediate presence of Mr. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of USSR. Sri. Lal Bahadur Shastri made clear in his communications to Mr. Kosygin that Jammu and Kashmir was an integral part of India and enduring peace could only be brought about on this basis of sovereignty of India with Jammu and Kashmir.

On the eve of Prime Minister leaving to Tashkent the executive committee of the party met in Parliament House to take stock of the situation and advise Prime Minister in the matter.

The most important things that came up for discussions were:

1. Not an inch of our land to be surrendered.
2. Infiltration of Pakistanis in Jammu and Kashmir with a view to create commotion and disturbance to be stopped.
3. India not to surrender Kargil, Hazipeer, the two logically important mountain peaks that were overlooking Srinagar-Leh road and the same had been captured from Pakistan in the war.
4. Never to accept plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir to determine which way the people of Jammu and Kashmir would prefer to go.

All these four were the most important points to which Mr. Ayub Khan was holding on to. Every-one demanded that sri. Lal Bahadur Shastri should not yield on any account so far as infiltration was concerned. The Defence Minister Mr. Swaran Singh insisted that Pakistan should be made responsible for

their entry into the state of Jammu and Kashmir. This was done by Pakistan with a view to create an opinion to the world that the people of Jammu and Kashmir caused these disturbances being dis-satisfied with India.

1. The question of yielding any territory does not arise and could not arise. Every one was very particular on this point, Mr. Shastri was also of the same opinion.
2. The author questioned if infiltration is not a subject of Indian defence. Mr. Swaran Singh retorted whether it was expected that the defence Minister should keep a soldier for every foot along the border line if Pakistan fail to arrest infiltration. The author replied, keep two if one is not sufficient. It was heard that Chairman Kosygin said the same thing of infiltration when the question was raised in the meeting.
3. As regards Kargil and Hajepoor, they are situated on the peaks of mountain ranges lying along the Srinagar-Led Road. They are said to be very vital for the security purposes. They were in the hands of Pakistan. They were recaptured by Indian forces and so everyone considered it a vital point not to surrender to Pakistan. Everyone in the Committee insisted on this point. Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri also agreed that these two peaks could not be given back to Pakistan under any circumstances.
4. As regards the plebiscite demand, plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir is not only unlawful but also most dangerous. Jammu and Kashmir has acceded to Indian Union according to law. India is keeping it under law. India is declared a secular state whereas Pakistan is declared a theocratic state. A plebiscite in Kashmir means whipping up communal passions, the end of which nobody can predict. There are five lakhs of villages in India not to speak of Jammu and Kashmir and it is madness to deal with such a measure. Mr. Kosygin would never allow such a madness to spread in the sub-continent.

Massacre of human beings, it is said, would take place under communal passions roused in holding plebiscite. Therefore the idea of plebiscite held by President Ayub Khan should be eliminated root-stock-and-barrel. This was the conclusion of the executive committee meeting which was planted well in the mind of Prime Minister Sri. Lal Bahadur Shastri.

**Tashkent Meeting:** Prime Minister Sri. Lal Bahadur Shastri and President Sri Ayub Khan met on 10th January 1966, and declared their intention to restore peaceful relations between the two countries and renounce the use of force as contemplated in the UN charter in settling disputes.

The following is the communique called the

## **TASHKENT DECLARATION**

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan, having met at Tashkent and having discussed the existing relations between India and Pakistan, hereby declare their firm resolve to restore normal and peaceful relations between their countries and to promote understanding and friendly relations between their peoples. They consider the attainment of these objectives of vital importance for the welfare of 600 million people of Pakistan and India.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan agree that both will exert all efforts to create neighbourly relations between India and Pakistan in accordance with the United Nations Charter.. They reaffirm their obligation under the charter not to have recourse to force and to settle their disputes through peaceful means.

They considered that the interests of peace in their region and particularly in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent and, indeed, the interest of the people of India and Pakistan were not served by the continuance of tension between the two countries. It was against this background that Jammu and Kashmir was discussed, and each of the sides set forth its respective position.

**TROOPS WITHDRAWAL:** The Prime Minister of India and President of Pakistan have agreed that all armed personnel of the two countries shall be withdrawn not later than February 25th, 1966 to the positions they held prior to August 5th, 1965, and both sides shall observe the cease-fire terms on the cease-fire line.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that both sides will discourage any propaganda directed against the other country and will encourage propaganda which promotes the development of friendly relations between the two countries.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that relations between India and Pakistan shall be based on the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each other.

The Prime Minister of India and President of Pakistan have agreed to consider measures towards the restoration of economic and trade relations, communications, as well as cultural exchanges between India and Pakistan, and to take measures to implement the existing agreements between India and Pakistan.

The Prime Minister of India and President of Pakistan have agreed that they give instructions to their respective authorities to carry out the repatriation of the prisoners of war.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the sides will continue the discussions of questions relating to the problems of refugees, eviction and illegal immigration. They also agreed that both sides will create conditions which will prevent the exodus of people. They further agreed to discuss the return of the property and assets taken over by either side in connection with the conflict.

The Prime Minister of India and the President of Pakistan have agreed that the sides will continue meetings both at the highest and at other levels on matters of direct concern to both the countries. Both sides have recognised the need to set up joint India-Pakistan bodies which will report to their governments in order to decide what further steps should be taken.

They also express to the Government and friendly people of Uzbekistan their sincere thankfulness for their overwhelming reception and generous hospitality. They invite the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR to witness this declaration.

Signed: Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Signed: President Mohammed Ayub Khan.

It was most unfortunate that Sri Lal Bahadur Shastri, Prime Minister of India, had a heart attack in the early hours of 11th January 1966, at Tashkent and died within seven minutes of the attack. His last words "HA BAAP, HAI RAM". Hearing the sad news the whole of India was plunged in sorrow and darkness.

"His life was gentle, and the elements so mixed in him that nature might stand up. And to say all the world this was a man".

## *Chapter 10*

### **AFTER SHASTRI WHO AND WHAT**

"Jai Jawan; Jai Kissan"

"L.B. Shastri"

It is very sad indeed that India should have lost an able Prime Minister Shri. Lal Bahadur Shastri. In the short span of 18 months with crowded problems both internal and external facing the country, Mr. Shastri pushed through with courage and farsight without ever sacrificing the interests of the country. With well laid out policies of Mr. Nehru the first Premier of free India, Shastri was rowing the ship of State through disturbed waves, towards safe destination, and finally anchored it in Tashkent waters.

The incoming Premier whoever it was, had an India well settled in policies though with problems galore.

India in these circumstances, more particularly its majority party i.e, Congress Party in Parliament faced a severe threat in the selection of a successor. As usual, the Congress President Mr. Kamaraj had to bear heavy responsibility. Though his power and popularity were on the waning side at the time of selecting Shastray's successor, the one man who mattered most was he. The candidature of several senior leaders in the party like that of Mr. Nanda, Mr. Chavan, Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy, Morarji Desai, Mr. S.K. Patil, and Mr. Jagjivan Ram came to be discussed in the Party. But none so well welcomed as Mrs. Indira Gandhi for the leadership of the party. The consensus theory applied in the case of Shastri could not be applied in this case, for good many expressed belief in ballot.

The State Congress Chief Ministers who had assembled at Delhi discussed the situation in all its aspects and came out to announce the choice of Indira Gandhi. This had caught the imagination of most of the members of congress party in Parliament and they fell in line with Chief Ministers. As for Kamaraj Nadar who was for Indira Gandhi felt his hand very

much strengthened, announced her name to everyone that met him either in groups or individually.

Most of the senior congress leaders withdrew their candidature from contest. But Mr. Morarji Desai alone stuck to his position. His contention was chief Ministers were not voters and their suggestion had no value and what mattered was the opinion of the members of Parliament and that could be determined by ballot alone.

The working Committee of the Congress met to discuss the issue. Kamaraj and several members anxious to obtain unanimous choice of the leader pleaded with Morarji Desai to no avail. He claimed the issue should be settled with ballot and ballot alone. He said it was in duress last time he agreed for Shastray's leadership and he would not agree to repeat the same. Working Committee having failed to produce unanimity decided to hold election among the Congress Party members of Parliament for leadership.

The author happened to be the Secretary of the Congress Party in Parliament along with Mr. K.C. Pant and Mr. Vibhuti Mishra. According to the decision of Working Committee, they organised election to the leadership of the party at 9.00 A.M. on 20th January 1966, in the Central Hall taking all the precautions required for the job under the Presidentship of Kamaraj, the Congress President. Polling was closed by about 12.00 noon. Counting recorded 355 votes in favour of Indira Gandhi and 169 for Morarji Desai. Mrs. Indira Gandhi was declared elected Leader of the Congress Party in Parliament to the great joy of the assembled members inside and greater applause outside in the country as a whole. It should be said here that Kamaraj Nadar did his best for unanimity but failed to persuade Morarji Desai to withdraw from the contest. The inevitable happened.

With Mrs. Indira Gandhi as third Prime Minister, a new chapter in the Parliamentary history of India was opened.

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Indira Gandhi with her cabinet of 48 Ministers was sworn in on 25th January 1966, at 2.15 p.m. President Sri.

Radhakrishnan administered oath of office and secrecy. The significant omission in the Cabinet was that of Morarji Desai.

Indira Gandhi's legacy was not all favourable. She had internally a serious food problem, demand for States re-organisation in Punjab and Assam, sky-rocketing prices, foreign exchange problem, slow industrial growth, working out Kutch Agreement and Tashkent declaration, arms supply to Pakistan and establishment of friendly relations not only with neighbouring countries but with all countries in the world more particularly with both the super powers. She was to work for disarmament and banning the nuclear weapons. She faced her job with all determination and faith. The Press welcomed her leadership and Statesman said - "her charm should radiate to the life around her through her ministry and that may help her to create conditions to hold herself :-

And the desert shall rejoice  
And roses would blossom.

Thus, the people proclaimed that it is "Return of the Rose".

Both the Houses of Parliament met on 14th February, 1966, for its fifty fifth session.

President Shri. Radhakrishnan in his inspiring address to the joint session paid glorious homage to Shri. Lal Bahadur Shastri as a man of people "with firmness of purpose and flexibility of approach".

His reference to "brave and gallant armed forces "who had written a new chapter on glory in our history," was touching indeed. He said "We honour our heroes, comfort the bereaved and lament the loss of precious lives". As regards people he expressed appreciation of "this unity and solidarity and communal harmony". Touching all aspects of life of the nation he concluded his address with words of wisdom and goodwill to the Members of Parliament and said "we have to strive for better life for our people at home and to assist in promoting peace and co-operation in the world".

In the obituary reference both the houses paid their humble homage to the memory of late Sri. Lal Bahadur

Shastri as a great Prime Minister, humble and lovable man and as a great servant of the country and hoped the history's record of his glorious service will be for the benefit of posterity.

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Answering the author's first question in this session Sri. Sardar Swaran Singh said :- The number of Indian nationals interned in Pakistan who have been so far repatriated is 6665.

The treatment accorded to Indian nationals interned in Pakistan by Pakistani authorities was unsatisfactory, a number of protests have been lodged with the Government of Pakistan on this subject.

It could be seen from the proceedings in the house that Chinese were attempting to make a lot of incursions into Indian territory even after ceasefire agreement and their replies to our protests, were always evasive. Thus Chinese continued to cause trouble on Tibet-India border. A Statement regarding the Tashkent declaration was made by Sardar Swaran Singh on 15th February 1966, and the same was discussed in the House and approved by the House as amended on 22nd February 1966.

"That the Tashkent Declaration be taken into consideration and having considered the same, this House approves the stand of the Government of India therein', and thus a seal of approval was put on it by Parliament.

### **Question of Formation of Punjabi Suba.**

The question of formation of Punjabi Suba was being discussed right from 1956. Sardar Sant Fateh Singh went on a fast unto death on this question demanding the formation of Punjabi Suba comprising areas of majority Punjabi speaking people. After the assurance of Shri. Lal Bahadur Shastri that the question would be considered after a deep study of the matter, Sardar Fateh Singh gave up his fast. On the basis of assurances given, an expert Committee of Members of Parliament under the presidency of the Speaker was

appointed to study the question on all aspects of the problem and submit a report. Thus the report submitted was laid on the table of the House on 16th March 1966.

In heart of hearts the author was against breaking up the then Punjab State. Sikh religion was born out of Hinduism only to protect Hindu religion. Sikhism is a virulent form of Hinduism. All Hindus in Punjab knew Sikh language as much as Sikhs knew Hindi. A Sikh prayed in a Hindu Temple as much as a Hindu did in a Gurudwara.

Inter marriages between Sikhs and Hindus were common. Any distinction made between a Hindu and a Sikh is a distinction without difference. Akali Dal is more a political organisation than religious. It was Congress that was ruling Punjab all long. The political rivalry was the origin of differences between Hindus and Sikhs. Political embers were smouldering for pretty long time. Master Tara Singh had been making repeated demands for an "Independent and self-determined status within the Union". Sant Fateh Singh joined Master Tara Singh in making this demand. It was made as early as 1956. This demand lead the Government of India to evolve the Regional Committee Scheme in consultation with Akalis for removing all grievances of Sikhs

This demand for Punjabi Suba was again revived by Sant Fateh Singh in 1960. He entered upon an indefinite fast on 18th December, 1960. The then Prime Minister Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru made a statement on 8th, January 1961, in the course of which he declared "the Punjab itself is broadly speaking, Punjabi Suba as it is, with Punjabi as the dominant language there. It is true that some parts of Punjab have Hindi, but essentially Punjabi is the dominant language and it should be encouraged in every way".

Sant Fateh Singh gave up his fast on receiving the following telegram from Master Tara Singh.

"I am satisfied with to-day's speech of the Prime Minister at Sardar Nagar. Request you to break your fast. It fulfills the requirements of your vow" - The agitation was then withdrawn.

To go back to 1965 it should be remembered that unfortunately the demand for Punjabi Suba was again revived by Sant Fateh Singh in 1965.

The Prime Minister Shri. Lal Bahadur Shastri had talks with Fateh Singh on his latest demand and in a speech made in Rajya Sabha on 24th, August 1965, assured all concerned that no efforts would be spared by Government to remove the sense of grievance from the mind of Fateh Singh in regard to the language question and functioning of Regional Committee. Amendment of Gurudwara Act and other points would be looked into and all short-comings found would be set right.

Sant Fateh Singh as a patriotic leader agreed to give up his fast on the assurance given by the Prime Minister. The agitation was withdrawn.

Sant Fateh Singh demanded that repatriation of Punjabi speaking area from United Punjab and constituting it into a Punjabi Suba should be done. For achieving this objective he announced his intention to start an agitation. The agitation consisted of starting his fast from September 10th and immolate himself on September 25th, 1965, if Punjabi Suba was not conceded by that time.

It was unfortunate that such a demand should have been made at a time when Pakistan had attacked India and India was engaged to contain and throw out Pakistani aggression from our territory. This war with Pakistan was raging all along the border of India. Master Tara Singh also joined Sant Fateh Singh in demanding an "Independent and self-determination status within Indian Union" for Punjabi Suba. And the Government was pleased to appoint a Committee of the Cabinet consisting of Smt. Indira Gandhi, Sri. Y.B. Chavan and Sri. Mahavir Tyagi to pursue the matter further. The Home Minister further suggested that Joint Committee of both Houses with Speaker as Chairman should also be appointed so that suitable solution to the problem may be suggested.

The author had some personal discussions with his colleagues - both Sikh and Hindu - on this subject, whether what Late Shri. Jawaharlal Nehru had said in 1961 was or was not

the fact of the situation. He had said the whole of Punjab was Punjabi Suba. While my Sikh colleagues expressed they wanted a State with absolute majority of Sikhs, the Hindu colleagues were satisfied with a State of absolute majority of Hindus. Each was ready to settle with obtaining a State of his own community majority. In other words, the whole issue became political and in my view, it was all a political game of politicians. The national issue of adjoining Pakistan was totally ignored.

The Committee came to the conclusion that it would be in the larger interests of the people of Punjab and of the country as a whole, that the present State of Punjab be reorganised on a logistic basis and has recommended that:

- a. The Punjab region should form a unilingual Punjabi State.
- b. The hill areas of Punjab included in the Hindu region, which are contiguous to Himachal Pradesh and have logistic and cultural affinity with that territory, should be merged with Himachal Pradesh; and
- c. That the remaining areas should be formed as a separate unit which may be called the Haryana State.

The Government gave careful thought to these recommendations. They decided to accept, in principle, that the present state of Punjab be reorganised on logistic basis.

The Committee further recommended that in case there were any boundary adjustments to be made, a committee of experts be set up immediately to suggest the necessary adjustments. Government accept, in principle that the boundaries may be determined with the help of experts. They intend to take early steps to give effect to the decision to reorganise the State of Punjab on the lines mentioned in the preceding paragraphs.

- Before announcing these decisions, Government took into full and careful consideration representations made to them by various interests including those who were opposed to the reorganisation of the Punjab on the lines proposed. In the course of the long meetings held with some of them,

misunderstandings and misgivings regarding the reorganisation that was under consideration were largely removed. The Government made it clear to them;

- i. That the proposed reorganisation of Punjab will follow the logistic basis, without any communal or religious factors being allowed to come into consideration;
- ii. Such common links between the units resulting from the proposed reorganisation as are found feasible will be provided in consultation with the concerned interests.
- iii. The legitimate rights and interests of the minorities, logistic and other, will naturally be fully safeguarded in the units;

Government trust and hope that the leaders and the people of Punjab representing all shades of opinion, will lend their constructive co-operation to the Government in the maintenance of peaceful conditions, unity and amity between all sections of the people, and above all in the creation of appropriate conditions for the smooth and early implementation of the decisions relating to the reorganisation of Punjab.

The Government accepted the recommendations of the Committee and the State of Punjab was split into Punjabi suba and Haryana.

### **The Visit of Vice-President Mr. Hubert Humphrey.**

At this point of time, India was in great economic distress, having solved the question of wars with neighbours willy-nilly. Vice-President Hubert Humphrey of USA visited India with Mr. Averill Hariman and other officials on 16th evening and left on 17th night. The visit was a brief one. They had the busiest schedule. They visited President and Vice-President. They had discussions with Finance Minister on economic affairs of the country as also with Food and Agriculture ministers, Planning Minister, Foreign Minister, and Defence Minister. They Finalised their discussions by visiting Prime Minister. Finding that the food situation in the country was not satisfactory and Industrial Development having been found slow in growth, a

110-million dollar loan was offered right across the table. Further they requested the Prime Minister to accept the invitation of President Johnson when the question of aid for Fourth Plan could be more elaborately considered etc. They also talked of international affairs especially of Vietnamese question.

Now the point is what prompted Mr. Humphrey to visit India with a team of experts and that too, to meet so many Ministers and President, Vice-President as well. In fact they must have obtained a full picture of the state of economy of India, both agricultural and industrial on the one hand and the international affairs, particularly with reference to Vietnam, on the other. This might have been to place in the hands of Mr. Johnson full material to enable him to discuss, with Indira Gandhi who had planned to visit USA, a short while later. It could also be to know the sensitive points of India with which Mr. Johnson might bargain to win over India. In any case it is possible now to assess the subject of the visit of Vice-President to India and meeting so many authoritative persons in India. It was to brief Mr. Johnson to win India.

## CHAPTER 11

### PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT ABROAD

"A friend in need is a friend indeed"

#### Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's speech In Rajya Sabha:

##### Visit to America and other western Countries :-

At the invitation of president Mr. Johnson of USA Indiraji visited America from 28th March 1966. On her way to USA, she met President De Gaulle and Prime Minister Pompedou of France. On her return she visited Prime Minister Mr. Herald Wilson in London from where she proceeded to Moscow where she had discussions with Chairman Mr. Kosygin. In all those places she was received with much warmth and cordiality.

Madam Chairman, during my visit to France, President Mr. De Gaulle showed deep interest in our economic problems and assured me of the earnest desire of the French Government and people to help us in dealing with them. In particular, the French Government is ready to help develop further cultural, scientific and technical co-operation between our two countries. A team of French technical experts is visiting India soon in pursuance of this objective. My talk with the French President revealed a full understanding of our position on various international issues and a substantial area of agreement between France and India on many issues. I feel sure that my meeting with President Mr. de Gaulle will further strengthen the close and friendly relations between our two countries. Our President has already invited President Dr. De Gaulle to visit India. The house will recall that some time back (towards the end of last year) Shrimathi Pandit personally conveyed the invitation from our President to President M. De Gaulle when she visited France as our special envoy. I hope President Mr. De Gaulle will find it convenient to visit our country. He will be a very welcome and honoured guest.

Before coming to the main points of discussion with President Mr. John and the impression of my visit to the United

Sates, I should like to take this opportunity to tell the House of the great warmth and graciousness of the hospitality and courtesy shown to me by President Johnson and the American People and to express my sincere thanks to them for it. I had full and frank discussion with President Johnson and his colleagues, and the broad substance of our discussions is set out in the joint communique issued at the end of the visit. A copy of the communique is placed on the table of the House. I should perhaps mention briefly the general spirit in which our talk took place. In the fast changing of the world to-day, such meetings are necessary even between friends who share many values in common. Our object was primarily to establish a close rapport and understanding, and not to exchange advice or favours. I believe that in this we succeeded in full measure - an outcome which owes much to the complete candour and mutual confidence with which we approached our task. The conversations ranged over a wide field.

President Mr. Johnson expressed understanding and appreciation of our own massive efforts to raise the living standards of our people. He assured me of the deep interest of his Government in continuing to assist us in our efforts to promote such development, by playing its full part in the consortium, which has existed for some years, to mobilise external support for our plans under the auspices of the world bank.

On our emergency needs for food, President Johnson sent an urgent message to the US congress immediately after our discussions seeking congressional approval for generous supplies of food grains, cotton and other commodities. The message set out our economic progress and current problems in perspective. I am sure the House would like to join me in expressing our appreciation of its speedy passage through the US Congress. During our talks on India's food problem, President Johnson likewise displayed a sympathetic understanding and appreciation of our efforts to help ourselves, of the promise of our plans for increasing agricultural production and of our programmes for population control.

The President also announced the establishment of an Indo- U.S. Foundation to help develop new techniques in farm



"I am prepared to shed every drop of my blood for my country."



and factory, to advance science and to extend research facilities. Such a proposal had in fact been under consideration for quite some time and was approved by Government about a year ago. The Foundation will be administered in a manner consistant with the Government of India's educational plans and programmes and with a view to further the national interest and health of the economy.

As the House is aware, we view the external assistance only as a means of supplementing our own efforts and as an aid towards achieving self-reliance in the shortest possible time. In the course of our talks President Johnson repeatedly stated that the United States views its assistance to us in the same spirit of promoting self-help and early self-reliance on our part without interfering with our policies or plans.

There was reference to India's relations with Pakistan during the talks. I reiterated India's desire to promote the friendliest of relations with Pakistan in keeping with the Tashkent spirit, despite the difficulties created. We agreed that the peaceful processes set in motion by Tashkent Declaration should be continued. President Johnson expressed his strong support to the Tashkent Declaration and his desire that there should be friendship between India and Pakistan. Reference was also made to the threat posed to the India's security by China's aggressive designs and postures, apart from reaffirming our determination to defend our freedom and territorial integrity against any threat from whatever quarter it may come. I emphasised the fact that the long-range challenge of China is as much political or economic as military. I also explained that India's gigantic effort to attain the goal of democratic socialism and of achievements in the field of development, in conditions of stability was itself a notable contribution to peace.

The situation in Vietnam was briefly discussed. I reiterated India's continuing desire to see a just and peaceful solution of this problem.

I have extended an invitation to President Mr. Johnson and Mrs. Johnson to visit India, and the President has expressed the hope that it would be possible for him to visit our country again.

In New York I had a useful meeting with Secretary General Mr. U. Thant at the United Nations and took this opportunity to address the Afro-Asian group.

Besides the discussions which I had with President Mr. Johnson and his Colleagues, I had occasion during my stay in the United States to meet and share my thoughts with a large number of distinguished American Citizens in the course of various public engagements. I reiterated our stand on Kashmir and its wider implications. These contacts have, I think, helped to promote a better understanding of our views by the American people.

On my way back from the United States, I had a meeting with Prime Minister Mr. Herald Wilson in London. Our talks covered many subjects and were held in a friendly atmosphere. They have resulted in a better understanding of India's position. Mr. Wilson expressed the British Government's readiness to join other countries in giving urgent consideration to immediate steps for providing further economic assistance to India as soon as possible. I have invited Mr. Wilson to visit India, and he has accepted the invitation.

In Moscow I had a valuable exchange of views with Chairman Mr. Kosygin, in the course of which we reviewed the International scene and, in particular, the developments following the signing of the Tashkent Declaration. As the House is aware, Indo-Soviet co-operation in the economic and other fields has grown steadily during the past many years. A number of projects are currently under execution with Soviet assistance, and the Bakaro steel plant has been added to the list very recently. The Soviet Union continues to take friendly and sympathetic interest in our fourth plan, and during our talks in Moscow we agreed the preliminary discussions, which we have already had in this regard, will be expeditiously pursued.

Chairman and Mrs. Kosygin have agreed to visit India later this year. This will give us yet another opportunity to strengthen the bonds of friendship and goodwill between our two countries.

I was reluctant to be away from India even for a brief period when Parliament was in session and at a time when we have

many pressing problems to tackle at home. But as the House will appreciate, despite the urgency of our talks and underlying friendship of other nations towards us, it is necessary to develop contacts at the personal level from time to time with the leaders of countries with which we have established strong ties of co-operation and understanding. I have every hope that my discussions during this visit abroad will advance the cause of friendship and co-operation not only between our respective countries but also in the wider comity of nations.

Madam Chairman, throughout my ten day visit, I found an abundance of friendship and good-will for India and a growing understanding of the significance of India's foreign policy and of its developmental efforts. We can derive satisfaction and strength from these manifestations of friendship. But we must never forget that there is no substitute for hard and determined efforts and sacrifice on the part of the Indian people. The nations of the world are watching the Indian Experiment and they will respect us and be willing to assist us only in the measure of our own effort and sense of dedication. This is the task to which we must now, as before, address ourselves, with faith and confidence in the capacity of our people to shape the destiny of India.

### DEVALUATION

Mr. Bhupesh Gupta moved a motion in Rajya Sabha on 18th August, 1966 on devaluation of rupee recently effected by Government.

"That this house records its disapproval of the Devaluation of the Rupee by the Government as it is totally against national interest and is contrary to the Governments pronouncements in Parliament".

Devaluation of Rupee is a matter of great significance to the economy and international fields. This devaluation was brought into effect on 6th June 1966. It surprised the Parliament, business world, the opposition parties and the people in the country. Announcement of rupee devaluation was made without even consulting the Cabinet. So it was a surprise even to several ministers of the cabinet. At the time of the devaluation the position was, the economy was sliding downwards; foreign exchange resources were dwindling rapidly; the import of essential goods had to be severely restricted; export trade was alarmingly sluggish; Pakistan was being armed by America; India was not being helped with arms on a similar scale; foreign exchange shortage was a stumbling block for direct purchase of arms; country was in severe shortage of food on account of failure of rains for the past two years.

The performance of economy in the Third Five Year Plan was anything but satisfactory. These developments on the eve of general elections and at the time of ushering in of Fourth Plan had become a challenge to the Governments at the centre as well as states. There was violence everywhere. Instability and unrest were exhibited all over. The Government had lost courage to face the situation. Wide spread famine and failure of crops had added fuel to the fire. Domestic resources were spent in meeting famine within and war with Pakistan from without. External trade had dwindled to the lowest level. Government found it difficult to meet the ways and means position to combat the situation.

It is at a situation like this, Prime Minister undertook visits to all important countries. While on the tour of the world she was accompanied by her economic ministries like Finance Minister Sri. Sachin Chowdhary, Agricultural Minister Sri. C. Subramanyam, Planning Minister Sri. Ashok Mehta. The question of devaluation of rupee had been discussed with late Mr. Shastri during his Prime Ministership and was said to have been finalised. The aid-givers like America, World Bank, and Members of Consortium were reluctant to offer aid in the required scale unless India agreed for devaluation of rupee. Moreover, India was in great need of food on account of severe food scarcity felt almost all over India. This was most imminently required aid. Import of essential materials and spares was another item badly required to be imported to help wheels of India's industry moving. Earning foreign exchange by export was a necessity to revive industry.

Therefore devaluation of rupee was insisted upon. Convinced by the advice of President Mr. Johnson, Smt. Indira Gandhi and her entourage in their discussions agreed to devalue the rupee.

The moment devaluation of rupee was agreed upon, President Johnson who was anxious to develop closer relations with India and particularly with Smt. Indira Gandhi agreed to give likened aid. President Mr. Johnson asked US Congress's approval for immediate food aid of 3.5 million tonnes of wheat which congress approved. American President announced immediate contribution of 900 million dollars in non-project aid. What is more, he suggested convening the meeting of the Aid India Club to consider aid to India in distress and the World Bank was advised to reschedule the Indian loans despite the doubt of some of the members of the Club with regard to India's ability to repay.

What followed devaluation even more is the offer of American business to invest liberally in India on industrial and business ventures. Raw materials and spares needed by India were released. Loans to the extent of 4,500 million dollars was agreed upon. Donor countries other than America came forward offering all sorts of aid. There was criticism in India both by the right and left that India was getting too firmly

tagged on to America. Smt. Indira Gandhi brushed aside all criticism with remarks - India's socialism did not become any the less by obtaining aid from rightist countries. India was in dire need of aid and she accepted it wherever it came from. Thus India crossed over the hardship.

Sri. Kamaraj the congress president, who was already in conflict with Smt. Indira Gandhi on various other domestic issues bitterly opposed the devaluation of the rupee. The congress working committee did not approve it. The congress party in Parliament approved it.

Whatever the merits and demerits of the devaluation of the rupee, it helped to procure loans to get over economic crisis facing the country and the food aid so liberally given helped feeding the hungry people stricken with famine for the time being.

Discussion on the motion of Mr. Bhupesh Gupta on devaluation was again a marathon one. The motion was discussed at great length in four sittings of Rajya Sabha. It was finally rejected. But what is to be particularly noted is that one Deputy Minister and one congress MP voted for the motion. It was against the party discipline alright; but it showed the tendency of indiscipline creeping into the party. Could this be a case of coming events casting shadows? Whatever it is, rift between congress president and Prime Minister took deep note. This gave rise to formation of two groups in Indian National Congress party - one led by Sri Kamaraj and the other led by Smt. Indira Gandhi. Where this will lead to, in the lap of future, only time can show.

## CHAPTER 13

### RESHUFFLE OF THE CABINET

The Home portfolio was in charge of Sri. Gulzari Lal Nanda. As Home Minister he was second to the Prime Minister. The management of this portfolio came under severe criticism in Parliament.

Lock-outs and strikes all over the country became too common. Corruption in all walks of life and administration was too rampant. Sadhu Samaj was created by Nandaji to make use of their organisation for forming Sadachar Samitis all over the country. The same organised march over Parliament. When the procession was violent and oppressive and when they were prevented from marching into Parliament House by firing and other police methods, on their retreat they took to incendiaryism and burnt properties and vehicles.

There were NGO's strikes all over the country, in U.P., Kerala, Mysore, Andhra, Orissa etc.. There were violent demonstrations in Andhra asking for Vizag Steel Plant. Police firing on unruly mobs were very frequent. Students in very many places were on strike. Punjab was split into two States. Formation of two Hill States from out of Assam was done under the pressure of Nagas and Mizo tribes. Puri Jagadur's arrest and release created lot of commotion in the country. To add to all these troubles food-shortage and sky rocketing prices created abnormal economic crisis. Heavy damage to Railways and post Offices by the strikers took a heavy toll on national resources. A psychology of weakness of administration exhibited everywhere did not bring any credit to the Home Ministry. The Prime Minister was forced by circumstances, to undertake reshuffling of her cabinet, in which Sri. Y.B. Chavan was allotted Home Port Folio, Sardar Swaran Singh Defence, Fakruddin Ali Ahmed Education and Sri. M.C. Chagla External Affairs. Sri. Gulzari Lal Nanda was eased out of the Ministry by 13th November 1966.

The re-shuffle of Ministry at the Centre created a mild change in the atmosphere. Home portfolio in the hands of Mr.

Y.B. Chavan was a welcome change and so also Defence with Sardar Swaran Singh and Foreign Affairs with Mr. M.C. Chagla.

In the meanwhile, what was the shape of things in the Government?

Indira Gandhi was the head of the Congress Government, and Sri. Kamaraj the head of the Congress Organisation. One looked east and the other looked west. Kamaraj supported by his syndicate nursed grievance against Congress Prime Minister. Prime Minister would not take advice from Congress President in running her administration. She perhaps thought she did not need any guidance from an un-educated old man who got lifted to position of Congress Presidentship by whims of circumstances and not by abilities or merit. She thought she became Prime Minister on her own deserts - firstly as daughter of Sri. Jawaharlal Nehru and secondly by her ability and dynamism. She believed she established her claims to be the next Prime Minister after Shastri, on account of her experience as Congress President, once, and cabinet minister for information and Broadcasting in Shastray's cabinet. This claim was proved by defeating senior most Congress leader like Morarji Desai in the contest of leader's election.

On the other hand, Kamaraj thought he was solely responsible for her success in election to the leadership of Congress Party in the Parliament. The author had a small personal experience in this connection. One or two days after Shastray's cremation rumours were spread that Kamaraj, the Congress President was in favour of Indiraji for the next Prime Ministership. On account of close contacts with him, the author approached him and raised the question of future Prime Ministership. He asked what author's opinion was. Author submitted to him as follows:- "Sir, I know Parliament of Great Britain is the mother of Parliaments. It has been in existence for over 600 years. Never they had a lady Prime Minister. (it was much later Mrs. Margaret Thatcher became Prime Minister of Great Britain). Why should our young parliament tread away from the beaten track"? His reply was "Did you mean you want Mr. Morarji Desai"? Author said "yes". He retorted sternly, "that is a proud man. He sticks too fast to his views. He is unbearable. That is the man not required for Democracy".

Author could not argue any more and returned home-wise. What would have happened if Kamaraj had backed up Morarji Desai instead of Indiraji in the leadership election is anybody's guess.

Indiraji's massive victory over Morarji Desai is well known.

Aftermath of this election was not a happy story. It is said Indiraji did not whole-heartedly take Kamaraj into her confidence. She was neglecting Kamaraj in the matter of taking major decisions. The gulf between the two was gradually widening. Their differences came to the open on the subject of 'devaluation of rupee' which was agreed to by Indiraji without any reference to the Congress President.

Indiraji tried to build up what was called "Kitchen Cabinet" and Kamaraj his own syndicate. Thus a split between organisational wing and administrative wing took place for the first time at Central level though such splits were common at State levels. What shape this split took, one had to wait and see.

In the meantime it is worthwhile to list credits and debits of Smt. Indira Gandhi's performance of the year as Prime Minister.

1. She has earned reputation for quick decisions.
2. She has brought about relaxation of Gold Control Rules.
3. Appointment of a Committee for the problems of Cow slaughter abolition.
4. Division of Punjab into Harayana and East Punjab.
5. Holding opinion poll in Goa as union territory.
6. Resisted firmly Andhra demand for undertaking Andhra Steel Plant for lack of funds.
7. Nanda's exit from Home Ministry.

8. International ties were strengthened by visiting France, USA, UK, Russia and Yugoslavia, UAR and other Asian countries.
9. Nearer home she visited Nepal, announced Rs.40 crore worth aid.
10. She sent Mr. M.C. Chagla to Jakarta and Burma to win friendship—offered Rs. 19 crore aid to Indonesia.
11. Initiating successful preparatory work for three Nation Summit conference of India, UAR and Yugoslavia paving the way for greater political co-operation of Asia and Afro-Asian region.

#### **On the Debit Side:-**

1. She could not hold price line.
2. Failure of Commerce Ministry to arrange to supply essential articles at fair prices.
3. Fourth Five-Year Plan not finalised even though one year has passed off after third Five Year Plan.
4. Unrest in the country.
5. Devaluation of rupee has not produced the expected results - stimulating economic activity, bringing down inflation, blocking of investments, export of traditional items like Tea, Jute and Sugar also have not shown improvements after devaluation of rupee. Exports of cotton textiles have declined.

Notwithstanding poor performance as Prime Minister during previous year and in spite of her estrangement with Congress President Kamaraj Nadar, she decided to hold General Elections. She had great faith in herself. She felt she would have great consideration of the people in her favour because of the fact that she was the daughter of Mr. Nehru. That was her trump card. Accordingly she held the elections in February 1967. The rift in the Congress as between Prime Minister and Congress President was no secret. Not only the rank and file in

Congress organisation knew it but people all over the country also knew it. The high esteem people had for Congress was shaken everywhere.

Kamaraj and his party bosses had full sway in selecting candidates both for State Assemblies and Parliament. Indira Gandhi had very little say in the matter. Her position in the Party was uncomfortable. Congress tickets were given and General Elections were held in February 1967, both for Parliament and State Assemblies. It was a sad debacle. Congress got 281 seats out of 520 in Parliament. This happened to be a far cry from performance in the past.

This gave a majority of only 20 to the Congress Party in Parliament. It was indeed a slender majority. What is more, many seasoned politicians lost their elections. Kamaraj Nadar, the President himself lost election to the State Assembly in Madras. Subramanyam, S.K. Patil, Atulya Ghosh were the notable casualties. For this debacle in Congress Party in Parliament, charges and counter charges were made by each other by Prime Minister's men and President's men. Those that belonged to no party attributed the debacle to the rift. As regards State Assembly Elections, the position was worse. Congress lost majority in eight Assembly Elections. Madras and Kerala in the South, West Bengal and Orissa in the East, Punjab and Rajasthan in the West were lost to Congress. Delhi, the capital of India and UP the Home State of Indiraji were very poor showing.

Then came the Election of Leader of the Congress Party in Parliament and as usual Indiraji and Morarji Desai entered the field of contest. Both the leaders, Indiraji and Kamaraj had lost heart. One could not challenge the other. Adversity brought these two together; compromise became inevitable. Under this compromise, Indiraji would be Prime Minister and Morarji Desai would be Deputy Prime Minister. Morarji was to be satisfied with Finance Port-folio. When once she became the Prime Minister, she started ignoring the old guard; her erstwhile kitchen cabinet was revived again.

### Mr. Nijalingappa becomes Congress President.

The question of bringing a new President for Congress Organisation in place of Kamaraj engaged the attention of Congress leaders. Smt. Indira Gandhi's interest in changing the Congress President was the keenest of all.

She was in search for a candidate who would run the party smoothly. She had approached Mr. U.N. Dhebar who regretted to accept the offer. He knew she was in search of a person who could be a tool in her hand to fight the syndicate.

A contest for Presidentship was considered not good either for Karnaraj or Prime Minister. Each holding his or her own apprehensions but each willing to curb the other met together to discuss the issue of selecting a candidate for Presidentship of Congress. She on her side suggested, Mr. Nanda, Damodaran, Sanjivaiyah, or Sukhadia; but Kamaraj did not agree on any name.

It was ultimately Mr. Nijalingappa's name both agreed. Mr. Nijalingappa who was the Chief Minister of Mysore, (now Karnataka) when approached, first expressed his reluctance and ultimately he was to yield to the suggestion and accept the offer. He resigned his Chief Ministership in Mysore, (in favour of Veerendra Patil) and occupied the gadi of Congress Presidentship at Delhi. He became President of Congress in prevailing situation of resentment, anger, frustration, fears and hopes in the party and the country, on 7th December 1967.

## CHAPTER 14

### AFTER 1967 GENERAL ELECTIONS

"Pause in planning 1966-67, 67-68, 68-69"

The Congress Party did not fare satisfactorily in General Elections. With 281 seats out of 520 parliamentary seats won, the Congress had a slender majority at the centre. It had lost 8 State Assembly Elections. The emergence of C. Rajagopalachari's Swatantra Party was a new phenomenon in the politics of the country.

In Madras (now Tamilnadu), Kamaraj, Congress President was himself defeated in Assembly Elections and DMK won absolute majority. DMK formed the Government. In UP, Mr. Charan Singh broke off from Congress Party and became Leader of Samyukta Vidhayak Dal which formed the Government.

Smt. Indira Gandhi's instructions to State Congress leaders wherever Congress was not in majority was, that they should manouver a majority by any means, by hook or cook, by even encouraging defections as well, if necessary. Governors in such States were asked to help Congress Party by every possible means available to them. A united front of majority of non-congress MLAs was formed in Rajasthan and this united front offered to form the Government. But Dr. Sampurnanand, Governor of Rajasthan did not recognise the United Front though it consisted of majority of MLAs, but invited Congress as the largest single party in Assembly to form Ministry.

It is common knowledge that differences promote disruption. Unreconciled differences among the party echelons must evidently lead to disaster one day or the other. Cause must have an effect. These differences have a propensity to grow in direct proportion to their number and their intensity.

First and foremost, there had been wide spread criticism of the fall in the standards of democratic processes of congress Party. Gradually, a tendency of parties to move away from bases and moral objectives developed. Inevitably the political

situation became murky. The Congress Party led itself into a jungle of public controversies and private jealousies and shifting loyalties. Thereafter fissiparous tendencies and groups flourished on their own. This was the state of Congress Party immediately after 1967 General elections. A party with these characteristics was running the Government of the country as a majority party in parliament. The Government was an ill-assorted, un-coordinated melee, incapable of initiative or dynamic action. Parliamentary democracy intended to provide ability to deliver goods, got caught up in a mess of stresses and strains of groupism between syndicate on the one hand and the 'Kitchen Cabinet' on the other.

### ELECTION OF NEW PRESIDENT

It was the desire of Kamaraj that Dr. Radhakrishnan must be given a second term as President of India. Dr Radhakrishnan a philosopher - Statesman having reputation all over the world was the most suitable person to the exalted position of President of India. He was acceptable to most of the members of parliament including opposition. But, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi would not agree to this proposal. She was said to be a woman who never forgot and rarely forgave. She was intent on stalling Mr. Kamaraj proposal of providing second term to Dr. Radhakrishnan for the Presidentship of India. She proposed Zakir Hussain's name. She was after all Prime Minister of India while Kamaraj was only organisational President and that too a defeated person in Assembly Elections. Seeing that a controversy was developing in the country over the election of Rashtra Pathi of India, Dr. Radhakrishnan felt he should not cause embarrassment and so announced his intention not to offer himself as a candidate for election to the Presidentship of India.

Indira Gandhi had her way and could get her choice approved by Congress Party as well. Congress President could not succeed against her stand in the Party. So, he yielded to Prime Minister on this question - not without feeling another injury added to several insults already inflicted.

The opposition Parties set up Dr. K. Subba Rao, the Chief Justice of India who had resigned just a day before he was due

to retire in order to accept the invitation of combined opposition to contest for presidency of India. It is not for the author to judge whether Justice Shri. K. Subba Rao was right or wrong to have accepted the invitation of Opposition Parties in Parliament. He contested the election for the Presidency of India against Dr. Zakir Hussain. The Congress candidate Dr. Zakir Hussain won by a margin of one lakh votes. Shri. V.V. Giri was elected as Vice-President.

It was noticed that Smt. Indira Gandhi felt that by electing a respected muslim to the highest office of India, the country would demonstrate to the world how greatly she believed in secularism. She also believed that muslims in India also would reciprocate her trust in communal harmony. Nothing of this sort happened. Hindu-Muslim riots took place as in the past. In the very year of Sri. Zakir Hussain's election as President of India, Hindu-Muslim riots took place on a horrible scale.

### IV FIVE YEAR PLAN

Planning had gone wrong in country. III Plan came to an end in 1964. By this time Chinese attack on India had stopped. Cease-fire proposals were accepted in toto by India while China gave conditional acceptance, holding out the threat, that she would hit back at her chosen time. This Chinese threat to India kept India under restraint.

Consequently India was compelled to strengthen her defence. Defence expenditure shot up very high. Food shortage on account of failure of crops became serious. Food imports costed the exchequer enormous amounts. Agricultural failure reacted on Industrial production with the result economic activity slumped considerably. Drought caused economic crisis. Prices shot up sky-rocketing. Foreign exchange resources dropped down. Taxation was suddenly raised to a very high level.

The induction of Fourth Plan was delayed by 3 years. Economy was worked on annual plans because of curtailment of resources, having had to spend enormously on Chinese war on Indian borders followed by Pakistan attack on Kutch border. Aggression of neighbours on a vast scale meant huge expenditure which delayed the launching of Fourth Plan.

Economic and political problems are closely interconnected. The unprecedented drought which confronted India, soon after followed by external aggression both by China first and Pakistan followed soon after, meant harrowing experience. India went through all these difficulties successfully. What is more, India was able to lay the foundation of higher agricultural production through our intensive farming programmes. This is indeed a great achievement.

We held our fourth general elections in the midst of all these travails. The Congress Party did not fare as well as it used to, and in very many states united front Governments were formed while fortunately Congress formed Central Government with slender majority though.

All the same the basic principles of Secularism, development through planning, following economic policies for elimination of poverty, increasing economic growth both in agriculture and industry were briskly pursued internally while externally Non-alignment, cultivating friendship with all countries and a policy of co-existence were vigorously followed. We accept aid but our philosophy of foreign aid is that it is not charity. Foreign aid comes after all in the form of equipment or technological aid which India is using most efficiently. Our economic object is to achieve self reliance which we have done considerably. We are exporting machinery and several other Industrial Equipment. It may not be before long we will achieve self reliance. Whatever the success in this regard, in these days of scientific and technological development, foreign aid in one form or the other is unavoidable. No country can suspend aid from foreign country. The future order is one of mutual aid and mutual help. The horizons are not limited for International co-operation. India looks for that day of world peace and harmony.

Most of all Pakistani attack and occupation of Indian territory in Kutch and secondly in Kashmir and consequent military action to drive away the enemy at enormous cost in men and material and very high imports of military equipment drained country's resources.

Deficit financing became inevitable. State overdrafts increased. Under these circumstances IV Five Year Plan was frozen. Plan Holiday was enforced on the country. This state of affairs were kept secret. It was only when Chairman of the Planning Commission revealed it to NDC that both Parliament and people came to know about the Plan Holiday and that the circumstances that compelled it, came to light. To add to these difficulties, consumption, expenditure without restraint, and absence of control and supervision over spending operations, and mis-management detracted the administration from venturing into Fourth Plan. Consequently Fourth Plan was suspended followed by III Year Plan Holiday. Consequently economy was hard hit— Plan-freeze was unfortunate. There was break in investment, consequently on growth.

Planning Commission had prepared the draft on the basis of an investment programme of Rs. 21,500 crores. With

population increasing at an annual rate of 3%, it was not possible to improve the standard of the people without achieving economic growth of 6 to 7 per cent annually. There was no plan and so investment on the scale needed to keep up the growth was not achieved. In the first three Plan periods economic growth was only 3.5% which meant poverty was stagnant. Arising out of this fate of Planning in the country, retardation in economic growth has taken place. Three years of Plan holiday has resulted in the growth rate of only 1.7%.

Mr. Banka Bihari Das in a calling attention motion asked the Prime Minister whether it was true that the Fourth Five Year Plan was deferred for 3 years i.e., 1969.

### **Answering the calling attention motion of Shri. Das**

**Smt. Indira Gandhi stated as follows:-**

Mr. Chairman Sir, Hon. Members will recall that the memorandum on the Fourth Five Year Plan was published in October, 1964, and presented to the National Development Council. The Council then proceeded to set-up five Committees to consider various aspects of the Plan, including resources. These Committees met between January and July 1965. Their efforts culminated in a document, prepared by the Planning Commission, entitled "Fourth Five Year Plan - Resources, Outlays and Programmes". This document was submitted to the National Development Council in September 1965. Hon'ble Members will recall that this was the month of the Pakistani aggression. The National Development Council authorised the Prime Minister to make such changes in the proposals contained in the document as were considered necessary in the light of the situation which existed at that time. An annual Plan for 1966-67 was also prepared a few months earlier, keeping broadly within the framework of the Draft Outline.

It is no secret that the conflicts of 1965 had many adverse economic consequences for the country. Following hostilities, Foreign credits were suspended which meant curtailment and stringent control of imports essential for the continued growth of the economy.

There was further strain on the economy because of the altogether unexpected set back to our agricultural production even during 1966-67 after the failure of the previous year. The two droughts necessitated larger imports of foodgrains and raw materials, and greatly affected our capacity to export. Compared to the previous year, there was a further lowering in our foreign receipts in 1966-67. The set back in agriculture production also caused a retardation in the important sector of Industries based on agricultural raw material and those depending on consumption demand of agriculturalists. The sharp rise in the prices of food grains which was inevitable in the situation of a very large short fall of production, tended to reduce savings and affected our capacity to make larger investments. This in turn affected certain other branches of Industry such as the Engineering Industry. All this resulted in considerable erosion of resources for development. On the expenditure side, the defence burden, subsidies on food and increasing dearness allowance consequent on rise in prices also depleted our resources further.

Mr. Chairman Sir, these were the circumstances which delayed the completion of the Fourth Five Year Plan and it was decided that the Annual Plan for 1967-68 should also be formulated in advance of the Fourth Plan in order to avoid a pause in the development process. The annual Plan for 1967-68 was completed in June 1967 and submitted to Parliament.

At the time of the reconstitution of the Planning Commission in September, 1967, it was obvious that many of the assumptions and calculations incorporated in the draft outline were no longer valid and that, to a large extent, fresh exercises would have to be made before the Fourth Five Year Plan could be completed. Meanwhile the work of the preparation of the Annual Plan for 1968-69 had to be taken up immediately. In order that proposals of the Annual Plan for 1968-69 should be effectively incorporated in the budgets for 1968-69, it was necessary for the Annual Plan to be ready in January 1968 to ensure that developmental outlays during the year 1968-69 were properly balanced and co-ordinated. The re-constituted Commission therefore decided to concentrate on the formation of the Annual Plan in September, 1967, and is presently

engaged in this work. It is proposed to undertake the work on the Fourth five year Plan in January 1968 after the completion of the Annual Plan for 1968-69.

Thus, the Annual Plans for 1966-67 and 1967-68 have already been brought out and the latter is being implemented. Although expectations of a good harvest have given hope of improvement in the economy, there are still elements of uncertainty and danger of inflationary pressures continuing unchecked. A number of corrective steps are required during 1968-69 to tighten economic discipline and to create conditions in which steady planned growth can take place in conditions of relative financial stability. The output levels in 1968-69 would be close to the target of the Third Plan and would be a reasonable base for setting out the tasks of the Fourth Plan. It is for these reasons that the years 1966-67, 1967-68 and 1968-69 are proposed to be excluded from the Fourth Plan. Such a Five Year Plan, useful for providing guidance on the programmes and policies for the future should cover the period 1969-70 to 1973-74. The National Development Council at its meeting on 1st and 2nd December, 1967, has endorsed this.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, May I state very clearly that the Government has not given up planning, as the movers of the Calling Attention Notice have suggested, far from it. The process of planning is being continued and vigorously pursued although the means and the methods may have to be changed to take into account our changing economic situation. Indeed, even if the Fourth Five Year Plan had been finalised before the end of 1966 the size and composition of outlays would have to take into account the exceptional features of the prevailing economic situation and there is no reason to believe that the outlays would have been any different.

I should like to emphasise that the Five Year Plans have assumed even greater urgency and importance for us. The effort is essential and must be made continuously and seriously. It is in that spirit that the Planning Commission is proceeding towards the formulation of the Fourth Five Year Plan. With the gains of the current year's good harvest and with the economy stabilised, we should have laid the foundations for resuming the process of rapid development in the proposed next Five Year Plan Period.

### Visit to Bihar for Study of Food Situation.

The year 1965 was a year of famine on an extensive scale in India. Monsoon had failed. Very many States were in the grip of famine. The food problem had assumed a serious situation. Prices of food stuffs were rising higher and higher. There were demands from every State for more food grains. The Government of India was in World market for food grains, especially wheat and rice. The import of wheat was the highest ever. Yet, the granaries were empty. Bihar of all States was the worst sufferer.

The Working Committee of the Congress party discussed the food situation in the country and that of Bihar in particular. The Committee constituted a Committee consisting of two party secretaries i.e., Author and Sri. Bebhuti Misra and S.N. Misra, M.P Lok sabha to visit Bihar to study the situation and submit a report on Food situation in Bihar

The Sub-Committee left on tour of Bihar on 8th August 1965 to Patna. The programme of visits was fixed in advance in consultation with Chief Minister of Bihar. The visits were arranged in the worst affected districts of Muzzafurpur, Motihatri, Rexaul, Dharbhanga, Purnia and Barhouni.

In all these places the Committee had discussions with the farmers, mill owners and consumers assisted by District authorities and fair price shop owners. The complaint everywhere was scarcity of food grains. Distribution system had failed because of lack of inflow of wheat or rice. The private trading in food grains had come to a stand still because no foodgrains were coming into market. The usual imports and flow from Nepal had also dried up. There was no prospect of good harvest either. Scarcity of rainfall was causing damage for the standing khariff crops. The inflow into mills were far less than normal.

On the basis of statistics available, the Committee assessed the food situation in Bihar. The lean period starts

usually in June and the Committee could observe the pinch of shortage being felt in all the places visited.

Therefore, the Committee are of opinion that despatch of foodgrains should be expedited to Bihar. The matter brooks no delay. A report to this effect was given to the party.

It is possible that on account of author's study tour of Bihar etc., the author was called upon to speak on the Budget by the Chairman. The speech is quoted below:-

Mr. Chairman Sir, it is well known that unfortunately our country has been facing a very serious and critical situation in our economy. We all know that this situation has arisen on account of two wars that this nation has been called upon to face and also on account of two failures of the monsoon. Arising out of these, our food production has fallen steeply and this has created a very serious problem. Not only that, but our Industries, based as they are on agriculture, have also been slumping. Arising out of these two situations, the prices have been spiralling up. Our exports have been dwindling. The imports that are necessary for keeping the wheels of the Industry moving are also increasing and inflationary pressures are seen in the country's economy as never before. Increased defence expenditure also is adding to out trouble and this we cannot avoid. The pressure for increasing the Outlay on development works is growing.

The result is a very stagnant national income and also a fall in *per capita* income. What could be worse than this? In a situation like this the task of the Finance Minister to produce a Budget satisfactory to all is doubtly more difficult. After all the primary object of the Budget is to make an instrument of National economic development.

Various aspects of the Budget have been discussed by the speaker who spoke before but I would like to concentrate my attention on the rationals of the Budget this year. The year's budget is distinctly different from the Budgets that we have had before. The first and foremost thing that has been attempted to be done is to put an end to deficit financing. This is the first rationale that we see in this Budget and we have to ask whether

this policy that has been adopted by the Finance Ministry is correct or not. I for one would say that this is the more correct step, the first step, I should think, that the Finance Minister has taken. If deficit financing is put an end to, what does it mean? It immediately means that the inflationary trends in the economy are cut; and added to this he promises that Revenue expenditure is going to be cut down wherever possible and he is going to take credit for that only when he does it. That is what his Budget speech indicates and I think that this is a realistic way of looking at it. I am sure the Finance Minister is seized of this matter and he is going to do that. Of course his Revenue Budget as such does not indicate any large decrease in Revenue Expenditure but I suppose his promises will come true in his future performance. Ending deficit financing means also that the price spiral is put an end to. That is at any rate the theory; that is what everybody believes in. And let us hope that this will come true.

Now, what does inflation mean? And how has it been plaguing the national economy? Inflation means increase in prices, increase in the cost of living, pushing the wages; it also means impairing our competitive capacity in building up an export market. All these things are a menace to our developing economy. Therefore, if that can be put an end to, that will be a great step forward.

The States taking advantage of unauthorised overdrafts from the Reserve Bank of India are also having a great pull on our national economy and the Finance Minister has boldly come forward to say that at any cost this will not be allowed in future. This is also a step in the right direction and I wish the Finance Minister all success.

Among other steps taken to arrest this spiralling of price is the subsidy of foodgrains to the extent of Rs. 118 crores. But I will have a word to say about subsidy for foodgrains a little later when I shall talk of the Budget vis-a-vis agriculture. Distribution of foodgrains is also proposed to be done through public channels; liberalisation of imports to augment domestic supplies and also to stimulate industrial production, expansion of the net work of consumer co-operative societies, etc., are also proposed. Finally, the Finance Minister also

depends on the monsoon, as every one of us does. The only panacea, the only way we can save ourselves from the present economic crisis is a good monsoon. I pray, and this Parliament prays, with the Finance Minister that the monsoon at least after these two years will be a good monsoon.

My learned friend who spoke just before me was saying that gherao is a great menace to the country. I also feel that it is the Gherao with the political elements creeping into the productive processes that are going to hamper the prosperity of the country. I particularly appeal to all those who believe in gheraos, not to stop the productive processes for the sake of political ends; They should not undertake this step. Particularly Mr. Bhupesh Ghotha and his tribe should take the path of peace. So much with regard to the rationale of putting an end to deficit financing.

Now I would like to say a word about the rationale behind development and welfare expenditure. The Finance Minister has got naturally to depend upon tax resources for the developmental work. We cannot reduce our developmental expenditure on any ground. We have got to keep it up and I am glad he has kept the development expenditure or the Plan expenditure at the same level as before. Now it is not a mesmerism. Except through taxation, how can he mobilise the resources for the developmental work? Therefore, if he has taxed tea, coffee, footwear, aluminium, textiles, etc. I suppose he has kept them at the rock bottom level. After all the entire excise duties now imposed will come to about Rs. 115 crores and in effect give him only 68 crores after paying the share of the States. This is just enough to wipe out the deficit in the Capital Budget. His figures we have seen; he is left with a slender margin of Rs. 85 lakhs. The manouvarability is so small; in the event of any crisis developing, I do not know how he will manage the finances. But there is also another theory that he is very much underestimating the revenue and therefore the hope probably is that he would get more room and more manouvarability in respect of mobilisation of tax resources and thereby the development plans will not suffer. That is our hope at any rate.

Now, I would like to say a few words with regard to, Budget Vis-a-vis agriculture. Sir, a few aspects of these are very intriguing. The demand of the Food and Agricultural Ministry are included in demand Nos. 32 to 37 and also in 121 and 122. The total Central Government Expenditure on Plan account is Rs. 40.8 crores. I would like to invite the attention of the Hon'ble Finance Minister to Demand No.34 for the Indian Council of Agriculture Research. This year the allotment in the Plan is Rs. 11.56 crores. Last year in 1966-67, he has been able to spend only 2.4 crores, as against that amount of Rs. 2.4 crores, this year all of a sudden it is stepped up to Rs. 11.56 crores. I wonder whether it is at all possible to spend Rs. 11.5 crores on agricultural research all of a sudden. You have spent only Rs. 2.5 crores last year. All of a sudden you have stepped up the expenditure on agricultural research at Rs. 11.5 crores. Is it possible? I am an agricultural graduate. I for one cannot imagine an expenditure of Rs. 11.5 crores on this, when it was only Rs. 2.5 crores last year. Is it possible to find agricultural personnel? Is it possible to find out such a number of problems to be tackled in relation to the needs of the country? I do not know how it has been done. I have got my grave doubts with regard to the provision that you have made for agricultural research. It is impossible to spend 11.5 crores. Is it related to facts? I would like to invite his kind attention to one or two things. I have mentioned it here before. In Mysore State Ragi is the staple crop, but this Ragi crop has suffered for the last three years successively. The rust disease has been plaguing us in Mysore State. I made a number of representations to the Ministry, to the Research Institute and to everybody else. The other day, while discussing the food situation, I pointed out what reply I got. The reply that came from the ICAR, from the Head of the Mycology department, was that it has not been possible to find out what the disease was exactly due to. His advice was that it was better that sowing was stopped in April and May. Is it practical? The Food Minister goes on to say that another quick-growing crop should be grown in between two crops. In April and May, particularly Ragi is suited. That is the planned programme of the Ministry. And the reply comes from the Head of Mycology Department, to which I have already referred. It is there on record. Unfortunately, I have not brought that letter here today. Now, the advice from the expert is not to sow, but plans are

made that it should be sown as a quick-growing crop. How unrealistic is that suggestion. I just wanted to bring this to his notice.

Now, Sir, there is the mango crop. For the last three years the crop has been devastated by certain insects or diseases. I do not know what it is due to. Has it been taken notice of? Is it being attended to? Agricultural research is always related to the needs. Certainly they have done some good job. I do not want to deny that. I am myself an agriculture graduate. Therefore, I know what it is, but often it is not related to the actual needs of the country. That is how it is going on. It is going on this way. There are a number of gaps in the Ministry, unidentified gaps in the Ministry in regard to Research, in connection with extension work, etc., Everywhere it is so. Therefore, to achieve the targets has become very difficult. As an instance of an expenditure unrelated to the needs of our country, I brought this to his notice

Now, Sir, everybody knows, "Neere Prandhara". For Agriculture, water is the most essential thing. Apart from soil, of course, water is the greatest desideratum for successful agriculture. . . . we doing all that is necessary to make water available or are we saying that it all depends upon the monsoon? I make bold to suggest to the Hon. Finance Minister that though the potential of the underground water supply is so great, it has not been tapped. The problems have not been seriously attempted. On minor irrigation projects some amount has been spent and you expect all the underground water to come up to your aid in case of failure of monsoon. How can it happen? No, Sir, it cannot happen. My suggestion to you is, please make bold to see that a National Underground Water Supply Development Corporation is registered and works. It has got to work. I have already calculated and found that to dig or bore a well, it takes only 3 or 4 days, especially in the Gangetic delta. Right from Punjab to Bengal it takes only 3 days and then to energise it another 3 days, i.e. only six days. With the help of necessary equipment, you can bore a well and there is in the Gangetic delta great ocean buried under this soil. Unless you have recourse to that, this question of the failure of the monsoon will always be there. It is there in nature. You cannot avoid it.

Therefore, I suggest a bold step has to be taken. This National Underground Water Supply Development Corporation will have a thousand crores of rupees. One requires Rs. 5000 for boring a well and another Rs. 5000 for energising it. For Rs. 10,000 you have a well. The aim shall be one million wells. If we are going to have this, it means Rs. 1000 crores apart from your plan. Then, how to find the money? Let every bank contribute Rs. 50 crores or Rs. 100 Crores, whatever it is. I do not know and I have not studied it. The Financial resources of the LIC are there. The financial assistance from the scheduled banks can be taken. Foreign assistance can be had. I read the other day that there was big world conference in America. President Johnson himself said certainly his country was going to give all the technical help and equipment necessary and all the finances necessary for undertaking a big programme like that. Under three heads, viz, Organisational ability, Technical equipment and Finances, we can undertake a big scheme like that. I commend it for your examination. Within three months we must have the National Underground Water Supply Development Corporation. Such a Corporation must come into existence.

Next is manure. Of course everything has been done. Seed development is there. New technology is coming up. This new technology has got a great potentiality. If we only put our effort in the right direction if only we switch on the entire country towards greater production in agriculture, if only we spend our money properly - I very much doubt whether we are doing it properly - we could succeed.

I thank you very much for giving me this chance. I could not say all that I wanted to say, but I have said what little I could in the matter. For the rest of it, I hope the Finance Minister will do the thinking and come to the aid of this country's economy.

## NUCLEAR UMBRELLA

Nuclear Bomb is a deadly innovation of Second World war. America came into possession of it for the first time and used it in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in Japan to finally defeat Japan and thus bring down war to an end at last. The destructive power of this bomb is enormous and its after-effects on life of man and his progeny is incalculably harmful.

Man is brought to face this new danger of extinction. USA and USSR apart, Britain and France also came into possession of this monstrous weapon. The New China was not very far off from possessing the weapon. Thus, the world has come to the brink of extinction with atom bomb in action.

In these dreadful circumstances, various measures like non-proliferation treaty and provision of nuclear Umbrella were set afloat to deter the fears and apprehensions of non-nuclear countries.

India after close examination of Non-proliferation treaty refused to sign it in spite of Chinese threat.

Mr. Nehru, the architect of Indian foreign policy, rejected the theories of Air-Umbrella of non-proliferation treaty outright. Speaking in Lok Sabha on 21st March 1963, he said "there was no question of stationing Foreign Air Forces in India or establishment of Foreign Air bases in the country. As a matter of fact none of the friendly countries has made any such suggestions". He was speaking on the discussions held between the US and Commonwealth Air teams on the one hand and Indian Air Force experts on the other, that India has to be defended by its own forces. While India welcomed the assistance of friendly countries in procuring necessary equipment and materials, Air defence was considered too vital a matter to be left for improvisation of the Air-Umbrella, so much suggested in Press.

Mr. Galbraith, US Ambassador in India in a frank enunciation of US policy towards India in the context of her war with China and Pakistan, expressed clearly that "your

Government can be persuaded with real success only on matters on which it has already made up its mind. US rallied promptly on India's side in her war with China when China attacked India only in response to India's request. Indo-US relations should be maintained without pressure but to protect freedom is our common cause and this was a satisfactory basis for association.' In other words Mr. Galbraith offered all help to India to prepare herself for future aggression of China.

In the Meanwhile, Mr. Nehru sent several Missions, to USA, Britain, and Finance for obtaining assistance for modernising and strengthening Air Force. Mr. Boothalingam Mission, T.T. Krishnamachari Mission and M.J. Desai's Mission were all for canvassing for supply of sophisticated arms and Air Force Aid in all friendly countries.

There was a remarkable favourable response from every country for India's request for assistance. Mr. Kennedy assured full air support to India in the event of Chinese attack on India. So did, Britain and USSR, Canada, Australia and other friendly countries. USA and Britain had sent a Military Mission to India to ascertain what assistance was required of them in order to modernise and strengthen Indian Air Force.

As a matter of fact, the entire world East or West, Left or Right and Communistic or Democratic, offered ready help to India in all possible ways. It was Pakistan alone that expressed no sympathy with India.

The bomb became the greatest threat to non-possessors as much as to possessors. Some of the nations signed non-proliferation Treaty and some like India did not. The thought of providing Nuclear Umbrella though came through Security Council, did not prove very pragmatic. But efforts to reduce the rigour of the bomb were not given up. In addition it was made clear to the Joint US-Commonwealth Military Mission which visited Delhi at the invitation of Mr. Nehru, that neither party ever suggested any arrangement which would involve the establishment of foreign bases or foreign planes as an Air Umbrella on Indian soil. But the Prime Minister impressed on the visiting Mission, the importance of the air defence of the country, which was considered most vital. Therefore he said that Indian

Government could not afford to lose any time in putting Air Force on a footing of preparedness equal to that of China or even superior to theirs, enough to meet any surprise attack. It was necessary and very imminent to strengthen the Indian Air Force. This meant increasing the recruitment and training, and this in turn required sophisticated Air Crafts of various types and in required numbers, along with bringing the ground engineering and Communication facilities upto combat standard. In other words, Mr. Nehru wanted assistance from the friendly countries and rejected Air Umbrella question.

The desired responsiveness had been coming forth from these friendly countries. This part, the nuclear powers met together and wanted to put some restraints on themselves with regard development of nuclear armaments. As a climax to six years of hard East-West bargaining the big three powers, namely America, Britain, and Russia signed a partial nuclear Test Ban Treaty on 5th August 1963, in Moscow to a burst of cheering and applause and toasts to "friendship and peace", drunk in Soviet Champagne in the immediate presence of Mr. Kruschev and U. Thant, UN Secretary General, the Foreign Ministers of the three countries, Andrew Gromyko of Russia, Dean Rusk of USA and Lord Home of Great Britain who signed the treaty at a round tab' set up in the Great Hall of Moscow on the eve of 18th anniversary of dropping of atom bomb on Hiroshima, the first ever attack of enemy with the deadly bomb. After the ceremony of signing the Treaty they released a joint statement which read:

"The three Governments which signed the treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water have come to this historic agreement. This is an important initial step for lessening international tension and strengthening of peace and have stressed their hope that further progress will be achieved towards that end."

The three Governments have expressed the hope that other States will accede to this Treaty. They will themselves take the necessary measure for the prompt notification of the Treaty in accordance with their respective constitutional procedures.

It was agreed that the Treaty would be open for signatories in all the three capitals beginning on August 8."

All good men of this planet welcomed the great step taken by the three big powers. Mr. Nehru while extending hearty welcome to the treaty said "every lover of peace must welcome the signing of the nuclear Test Ban Treaty to day in Moscow. Although it is only a partial Treaty and does not by itself carry us far towards disarmament, nevertheless it is extremely significant. It represents the first breaking of the ice presented by the cold war. It is I think watershed between one direction and another. Therefore its significance is very great and we are entitled to hold that it will lead to further steps that will take us towards disarmament and ensurance of peace".

Premier Kruschev hailed the partial Test Ban Treaty agreement as a "document of great international importance and said the next step should be conclusion of non-aggression pacts between NATO and Warsaw Pacts".

China called it "a dirty fraud to consolidate their nuclear monopoly".

U. Thant, UN Secretary General today urged all nations of the world to sign the Nuclear Test Ban treaty which had given the world new hope of peace and progress.

The Test Ban agreement has produced a change in the US administration's thinking that could well have historic consequences, says Times Washington correspondent. It can be best summed up by the conviction that Mr. Kruschev does not want nuclear war and that both super states now recognise the limits of their power. Walter Lippman says, 'while the first step does not take us all the way or indeed, very far, it is crucial for, it shows which way we have decided to go. And so while it is quite true that political Test Ban does not mean that there is peace and no further damages of war, it does not mean that the two great nuclear powers have agreed that neither will go all out in the effort to achieve absolute nuclear superiority and with total world supremacy.'

Bonn has refused to sign the Treaty.

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## THE GREAT CONGRESS SPLIT

As the Ministry of Smt. Indira Gandhi's leadership was proceeding from January 1966 facing all the problems both internal and external, economic problems were worsening day by day, not to speak of Chinese and Pakistani troubles. Smt. Indira Garidhi gave a new direction to the economy by adopting de valuation of rupee under the advice received from world bank sources. This was done by Mrs. Indira Gandhi without consulting Congress High Command and not even Sri. Kamaraj Nadar who was a member of parliament. Sri. Kamaraj Nadar expressed his dis-satisfaction publicly over devaluation. Thus dissension between Mr. Kamaraj and the Prime Minister came to the open. It is said that the advice of Sri. Kamaraj Nadar given to the Prime Minister on the question of election of the President of India was also negatived by her. Sri. Kamaraj Nadar wanted that Sri. Radhakrishnan whose term as President of India was coming to an end should be continued for a second term. Prime Minister did not agree to this. Thus a chapter of dissension started in high command.

Sriyuths Morarji Desai, Y.B. Chavan, N. Sanjeeva Reddy from the Central Cabinet side and Sri. S. Nijalingappa Atulya Ghosh among others from the congress, lead by Sri. Kamaraj Nadar formed into a group differing from Mrs. Indira Gandhi. In the meanwhile Sri. Zakir Hussain who succeeded Sri. S. Radhakrishnan as President of India unfortunately died of heart attack. His successor had to be chosen by the congress party. This became a cause for differing opinions in the matter of selection of presidential candidate as between Smt. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister, and Sri. Nijalingappa, the congress president. Slowly and steadily Mrs. Indira Gandhi formed a group of her own as against the group of Mr. Nijalingappa. This situation in the congress High Command gradually precipitated a crisis. Both groups came out into the open each opposing the other.

The group lead by Sri. Kamaraj Nadar, Nijalingappa and others took advantage of impending presidential election and

planned to nominate Sri. N. Sanjeeva Reddy who was then the speaker of the Lok Sabha as the congress candidate for Presidentship without consulting and Prime Minister. This move of the group spread like wild fire throughout the states and in the Parliament and Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi came to know the developing political situation and she was preparing her plans to meet it. An unfortunate situation of undeclared war between these two groups was going on.

Under these circumstances of mutual recrimination and suspicions the congress president Sri. S. Nijalingappa called a meeting of the AICC session in Bangalore from 10th July 1969 to 12th July 1969. It is usual that the meeting of working committee and the Parliamentary Board would also be held during the conduct of AICC sessions and in this proposed session the Parliamentary Board of the congress would also be held to decide about the candidature of Presidentship of India.

The struggle for supremacy between the two groups thus came to the open.

While the Prime Minister openly said hat she had no candidate of her own for the Presidentship, internally she was preparing a plan of her own to meet the situation. In the meanwhile AICC session was held in Bangalore. The question of selecting a candidate for presidency by the Parliamentary Board was to be settled. She prepared an economic resolution of her own and sent it through Mr. Fakruddin Ali Ahmed for discussion in AICC, while she came one day late under the pretext of indisposition, thus she planned to divert the business of the AICC through her note. The note indicated that -

- (a) A few banks should be nationalised
- (b) Foreign trade should be taken over by the Government.
- (c) Party re-organisation was to be considered.

The congress working committee accepted the note submitted by the Prime Minister and discussion of the same was taken up by AICC. The congress Parliamentary Board met at 9.30 A.M. on 11th July 1969 to select the party's candidate for Presidency. In this meeting dramatic confrontation between Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi and the syndicate of the

organisational leaders took place. The question of selection of presidential nominee could not be settled by consensus. Voting had to be taken recourse to. Mr. S.K. Patil proposed the name of Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy while Smt. Indira Gandhi proposed the name of Mr. Jagjivan Ram as the candidates for Presidency. A heated discussion took place. Five out of eight members on the board voted for Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy's candidature while three including Mrs. Indira Gandhi supported Mr. Jagjivan Ram's claim for the Presidency. No consensus or compromise could be arrived at by the members. Messrs. Kamaraj, S.K. Patil and Morarji Desai and Chavan voted in favour of Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy while two Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Mr. Fakruddin Ali Ahmed voted in support of Mr. Jagjivan Ram. The congress president Mr. Nijalingappa and Mr. Jagjeevan Ram abstained from voting. Prime Minister was extremely upset over the choice of Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy for the Presidentship and warned the board that she would not be responsible for the consequences thereby indicating that she would not take it lying down. She flared up and said in view of the imperative need for co-operation between the president and the Prime Minister the Party's nominee should be one acceptable to the Prime Minister

She stated that the choice for the Presidential Candidate should not be related to majority and minority but left to the Prime Minister's wishes. Within two hours of the official announcement of the congress nominee for the Presidency on July 11th, acting President V.V. Giri announced his decision to contest the elections for the office of President. Though Mrs. Indira Gandhi denied that Sri. V.V. Giri has decided to contest against congress nominee, Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy, at the behest of her it was widely believed that Sri. V.V. Giri has done so according to the plan hatched by Prime Minister before she left for Bangalore for AICC session. The reaction of Prime Minister for selecting Mr. Reddy for presidency was that after returning to Delhi from the AICC session at Bangalore - she relieved Mr. Morarji Desai of his Finance Portfolio though she asked him to stay over as Dy. Prime Minister, and Nationalised 14 big banks. Sri. Morarji Desai felt insulted and resigned his office of Finance Minister.

Mr. V.V. Giri resigned the acting presidentship and Mr. Hidayatullah Chief Justice took over as President.

## Escalation between prime Minister And Congress Old Guard.

The Prime Minister got confirmed that the intention of the Old Guard was to remove Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister or to create as many obstacles as possible for her smooth rule. It was also true that the old guard has hatched their own plan to do so. The rumour about the intention of the old guard by then named as syndicate had spread both in the parliament and public. Though the Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi had proposed the name of Mr. N. Sanjeeva Reddy for presidency it was done so, for make belief. All her manoeuvres were directed to oppose Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy's candidature. Her followers went about working against this congress candidate. Mrs. Indira Gandhi's intuition that if she struck a radical posture, she would carry the country, the congress and the left opposition with her and thus she would defeat the syndicates move. Anti syndicate and pro Indira demonstrations galored. The most dramatic demonstration in support of Indira Gandhi stand in Delhi and other places followed.

Prime Minister in the executive meeting as well as in the General body substantiated or justified her action in nationalising 14 scheduled Banks saying that she was keen on implementing the economic programme adopted at the Bangalore AICC session in an unhindered manner. Since Mr. Morarji Desai also had accepted the AICC resolution it gave her an additional argument in support of her action. Prime Minister did not wait to see if Morarji Desai worked out the resolution or not. No time was given to him. Less than a week after the resolution was passed Sri. Moraji Desai was stripped of his portfolio. This shows the Prime Minister was seeking a pretext to get rid of Mr. Desai from the cabinet. Later on both in the Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha she maintained that her action in taking over finance portfolio from Mr. Desai was justified and no one could question the prerogatory right of the Prime Minister. Mr. desai gave a long statement both in Lok Sabha and Rajya Sabha making clear how the Prime Minister disgraced him by stripping him of the finance portfolio. The Prime Minister on the other hand constantly justified her action and assured that the resources mobilised through nationalisation of banks would be deployed to accelerate the development of the national

economy in order to reduce progressively disparities between the rich and the poor and between the relatively advanced and the backward areas in the country.

On the suggestions of some Members of Parliament that the Prime Minister as the leader of the congress party in the parliament should issue an appeal to the members that congress candidate Sri. N. Sanjeeva Reddy should be supported in the presidential election she evaded under the guise that some legal matters would come in her way and escaped putting forth an appeal for support of the congress candidate. Not a word of support to the congress candidate whom she had proposed on behalf of the congress for Presidentship was uttered by her. This proved beyond any shadow or doubt that she wanted that the congress candidate should be defeated and that the opposition candidate Mr. V.V. Giri should succeed. This attitude of her was clear to every body in the country and voters to the presidency of India.

The next step she took to boost her image in the country was to abolish the privy purses of erstwhile princes.

DMK supported independent candidate Mr. V.V. Giri, while the Jan Sangh the Swatantra and the B.K.D. sponsored Mr. C.D. Deshmukh in this context. In view of the fact that she proposed Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy's nomination papers, the Prime Minister's rejection of the suggestion that she should personally canvass support for Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy by addressing letters to legislators etc could not be sustained on moral grounds. How could it be conceived that co-operation between Rashtrapathi Bhavan and the Prime Minister would be maintained if congress candidate succeeded in the election.

A suggestion made by some Members of Parliament that Prime Minister and President of Congress Mr. Nijalingappa should jointly issue an appeal to support the congress candidate Sri. N. Sanjeeva Reddy in the presidency was rejected by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi while she agreed for a meeting of the congress members of the parliament for this purpose.

The proposed meeting of the members of the party in the congress for the purpose of joint address by Prime Minister and

President of congress on August 6th 1969 ended in uproarious scenes and sharp clashes. Where was the necessity for clashes when congress members were to be addressed by the congress president and the Prime Minister of the Congress Party? Mr. Nijalingappa appealed to the members to retain unity of the party by voting wholeheartedly for the congress candidate in the presidential election while the Prime Minister reaffirmed her acceptance of Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy's candidature but she made no formal appeal to the members to support him. She was only asking Mr. Nijalingappa to take action against some congress members of the parliament writing in the press against the approved policies of the congress Government as if the meeting conveyed not so much for canvassing for congress candidate but only to talk of minor organisational matter.

In the meanwhile the press was coming out with reports of cross voting in the congress both in the Parliament and in the state Legislatures.

Mr. Arjun Arora is the first congress member of Parliament to come out with a statement against the decision of the congress Parliamentary board by announcing his open support for Mr. V.V. Giri in the Presidential election. This is the first battle cry of revolt against the congress candidate in addition to under-ground revolt raised by Smt. Indira Gandhi. Finally came the bolt from the blue when the Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi announced publicly that the congress voters are free to vote according to their conscience. Thus the party discipline was shattered to pieces and conscience vote came into operation. On 10th August 1969, just a week before the actual poll was to take place, the curtain in the drama was raised and everyone knew Smt. Indira Gandhis' game of revolt. Party discipline was shattered, and an era of indiscipline in the party was started.

The congress party on August 12th was in the midst of its greatest crisis in its 84 year-old history with the insistence of the followers of Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi on freedom of vote in the presidential election. This anomalous theory of conscience vote was supported by cabinet minister Messrs. Fakruddin Ali Ahmed and Jagjivan Ram. In reply to the letter of Sri. Nijalingappa, the Congress President, to the Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi to issue a whip to all congress members of

Parliament to vote for congress candidate, the only reply was a call for "Conscience Vote".

250 congress members of Parliament submitted a signed memorandum to Sri. Nijalingappa through the author (Sri. N. Sri. Rama Reddy) opining that the decision of the Parliamentary Board in nominating Sri. Sanjeeva Reddy for Presidentship of India is mandatory and no congress M.P. could disobey this. Of the 433 congress M.P.s in both the houses of Parliament, it was clear, that 254 were pro-syndicate and 296 were pro-Prime Minister groups.

The tension of the last few days yielded place to a carnival atmosphere in the central Hall of Parliament as polling began in the most crucial presidential contest in Independent India.

The polling took place on 16th August 1969 both in the Parliament House and in the State legislatures. The assessment of the voting pattern could not be evaluated. However Mrs. Indira Gandhi justified her announcement of conscience vote because her opinion was "certain sections of the party at the centre would have got frustrated and followed the path of aligning themselves with certain groups as had happened in some of the states". she also suspected that a split in the congress party could occur. Whatever the result, it shows having been aware of the possibility of the split in congress, she persisted in taking a decision to work against the congress nominee. She did not mind the future of the congress. Attainment of her objective – defeating the syndicate candidate – was all that mattered to her.

Mr. Nijalingappa, congress president, issued a show-cause notice to the Prime Minister and her followers asking them to show cause why he should not take disciplinary action for having cross voted in the presidential election. The Prime Minister warned the congress president that the consequence of his show-cause notice will be very serious if it is not dropped. she said" the manner in which the presidential candidate was chosen at Bangalore was not a chance. Things could not have worked with such clock-like precision if they had not been planned earlier. Within a few minutes of the decision the news was out including the figures of the voting". All over the world

the impression was created that the Indian Prime Minister had been demoted in her own organisation.

The readers may admit her statement that the syndicate had pre-planned arrangements to oust the Prime minister by bringing into the office of the Presidentship of India their own man. But the question is whether the answer to the syndicate's plan is a counter plot involving party discipline which she broke. With the enormous power and the prestige held by the Prime Minister she could have met the President in a suitable way if he undertook any mischievous action. She could have taken steps to put such mischievous President to suitable action under the law provided in the constitution.

Only if both congress president and Prime Minister zealously work for the unity of the party, the prestige of the party could be maintained. When one does not do so the unity cannot be maintained. The Prime Minister engineered a demand for a free vote in the presidential election. Nothing can be more fantastic than to suggest that the free vote was meant for maintaining unity in the party.

After concluding the voting for the presidential election on 16th August 1969, counting took place in the Parliament House on 20th 1969. Mr. V.V. Giri , the 75 year old independent candidate backed by the leftist parties and the Indira Gandhi group in the congress, won a victory by a narrow majority. This became politically the most significant Presidential election in Independent India. After the counting was concluded Mr. V.V. Giri was declared elected by securing 4,20,077 votes against Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy who secured 4,05,427 votes. It is a success of votes of six members of Parliament for Mr. V.V. Giri and inversely it is a defeat by a shortage of the votes of six members of Parliament for Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy. The Prime Minister felicitated Mr. V.V. Giri as soon as results were announced. The success of Mr. Giri as against the congress candidate Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy marked a crucial turning point in the destiny of the congress and therefore in the destiny of the nation. "Success often goes to those who dare and act" - so said Sri Jawaharlal Nehru. Yes, it is a success of Mrs. Indira Gandhi whether it is moral or immoral future alone will tell.

Vertical split in the congress is inevitable with party President Mr. Nijalingappa and Mr. Morarji Desai relentlessly bent on maintaining discipline at all costs. Smt. Indira Gandhi questioned the right of the congress president to demand explanation from the leader of the congress party in Parliament. Mr. Jagjivan Ram and Mr. Fakruddin Ali Ahmed question what authority Mr. Nijalingappa had to question them to give explanation in the matter of breaking discipline of the congress party in presidential election. Mr. Nanda and Mr. C. Subramanyam asked Mr. Nijalingappa to withdraw the notice given to the Prime Minister. According to them Mr. Nijalingappa had no right to ask explanation from the Prime Minister without the sanction of the working committee. while the unity in the congress party is most important, it should not be at the cost of discipline in the party according to the stand of Mr. Nijalingappa and Mr. Morarji Desai. The question of disciplinary action on Prime Minister and her followers assumed a very exciting political problem in the country with the congress president Mr. Nijalingappa determined to wreck vengeance on the Prime Minister whatever the consequences. Prime Minister was bent on not giving explanation to the congress president.

A piquant situation had arisen in the political arena. According to the New York Times "The Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi had won a dramatic and climatic victory over the conservative old guard of the congress party. For the second time in as many months, she has proved herself a courageous, tough minded politician as well as an exceedingly skilful tactician. A Prime Minister in her own right is not a transitional figure, trading on her legacy as the daughter of Nehru". The soviet paper Pravada which published Mr. V.V. Giri's election prominently on the front page with a comment that he was supported in the campaign by the progressive forces and the Prime Minister's group in the congress.

The situation then arose when the congress had to choose between unity and discipline. Both could not go together. Sri. V.V. Giri was installed as IV president of India on 24th august 1969.

The question of disciplinary action on Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her followers was to be decided by

the working committee proposed to be held on 25th August 1969. In the said meeting the Congress Working Committee unanimously adopted a resolution which ruled out any action against Prime Minister mrs. Indira Gandhi and others who demanded a free vote in the Presidential Election. The majority opinion in the working committee was that between Prime Minister and Congress President, the Prime Minister had a wider responsibility to the country as a whole in the national and international spheres. The working committee also stated that "a split in the congress party would have incalculable consequences, and, therefore, they should not say or do anything which is likely to widen the breach and called upon all congressmen to help create conditions in which the normal and healthy functioning of the party will be restored". It further resolved - "let us all strive to contribute to unity in the organisation, based on commitment to the accepted policies thus generating a new dynamism on the political and economic front". The committee appealed to Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi and Mr. Nijalingappa to work harmoniously and strengthen the party.

350 M.P's supporting Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi met at No. 4 Jantar Mantar Road on 25th August evening about the same time as the congress working committee began its crucial session at the congress house only yards away.

The working committee resolutions heralded the triumph of Mrs. Indira Gandhi. Syndicate was however un-reconciled to the resolutions passed by the working committee.

Compromise is the key to the solution of problems, as proved by the way the congress leadership has got over the most critical problem in the party's 84-year old history. At issue was the threat of a total split in India's premier political party which would have certainly led to consequences of unpredictable dimensions and of the widest range and reach affecting national destiny, for, what concerns the congress, concerns the country. This said, it is easy to see that the compromise resolution unanimously adopted by the working committee vindicates the Prime Minister and repudiates the syndicate on their respective stands in the recent conflict. This as it should be, since the Prime Minister was only responding to

challenges conceived in what was very widely seen and suspected as an evil motive. This is quite clear from the authoritative statements and declarations preceding as well as following the factional foisting of Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy on party legislators, a majority of whom not only rejected the candidate but revolted against the sordid manoeuvres, as conclusively established by the election results. Mrs. Indira Gandhi who rightly sensed the will and the views of the party on the significant issue of Presidential Candidacy stood firm on her stand. It was conceded on all sides that mistakes had been made right from the beginning.

Painful and unfortunate fact of cross voting took place in the Presidential election for the first time in the history of the congress. This should have taught both the factions a lesson of conduct. The lesson should have been in this long march to the goal along the chosen path. They should have made the party an effective instrument of helping instead of harming the cause. This required unity in the party where give and take should necessarily be the policy.

Unity must have given precedence over prestige. Instead Mr. Nijalingappa's faction gave precedence to prestige over unity, thus poisoning the entire political atmosphere of the country. The events that followed the split speak for themselves - how disturbed the political atmosphere became. The United Congress held sway all over the country in all the states. The situation arising after the split of congress gave rise to the regional parties and splintered political groups. Defections which were rare became too common.

If the old guard had accepted the unity resolution and worked together with the Prime Minister and her group there would have been only one congress and the tradition of patriotically working for the prosperity of the country would have continued. Instead what came into existence was congress of the syndicate and congress of Indira group. Young turks and socialist party like P.S.P. as a whole joined Mrs. Indira Gandhi congress. The power and prestige that goes with it attracted the youth of the country and influence grew to the peak. In Karnataka which was then called Mysore state the congress rule continued with Mr. Veerandra Patil as Chief Minister. Sri.

Devaraj Urs took up the reins of Indira Congress after differing from syndicate congress with only four MLAs by his side. The Prime Minister Indira Gandhi on the other hand pushed through her socialist programmes vigorously, attracting poorer section of the population in the country. After all poorer sections formed the majority of the population in the country. Steadily the majority of the population drifted towards Mrs. Indira Gandhi's congress. Minorities of the country also supported Mrs. Indira Gandhi congress. This was the political situation in the country.

It was also rumoured that Mr. S.K. Patil and Mr. Authulya Ghosh were lukewarm in respect of going all out with syndicate. This also had weakened syndicate's position who were firm on the stand of maintaining discipline.

Following the defeat of the syndicate move and establishment of unquestioned leadership of Mrs. Indira Gandhi both in the organisation and in the Government what was called a kitchen cabinet came into existence for advising the Prime Minister in all matters. The syndicate unfortunately did not catch up with the spirit of the unity resolution of the working committee of the congress. The Prime Minister had shown all inclination to make up with syndicate leaders as shown by her invitation to Mr. Nijalingappa and Mr. Kamaraj Nadar. The syndicate leaders did not go with her in the matter of restoring unity.

Mr. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan the veteran congressman of old visited India for the first time after Independence to know how the congress party worked out their programme. 2,00,000 of people gave a red carpet welcome. He was the guest of Government of India and was treated with greatest respect and hospitality. After a brief study of the situation he had found that Indian politicians busied themselves in politicking. His impression was political parties and groups in India had the same aims but there was no co-operation and love among them. The Indian leaders and people seemed to have forgotten Gandhiji's message of selflessness and service to the under dog. There are very few people who are concerned with the welfare of the country and society as a whole. He further said that everybody in the country was interested in his or her own well being. This was the certificate given to leaders and the followers in India by the foremost famous freedom fighter of India.

Mr. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan affectionately known to India's millions as "Frontier Gandhi" received from President Sri. V.V. Giri Jawaharlal Nehru award on November 15th 1969 for International understanding, the third distinguished man to be conferred this honour.

After two months of rift and congress breaking down into two congresses the Prime Minister's wrath turned towards her own cabinet and dropped four ministers i.e., Mr. M.S. Gurupadaswamy and Mr. Parimal Ghosh who were Minister's of State and Mr. Jagannath Pahadia and Mr. Muthyal Rao who were Dy. Ministers. These ministers were dubbed as belonging to syndicate group. It was no doubt a rejoinder to the moves of syndicate.

The ruling congress AICC members sent a requisition letter to the working committee of the ruling congress asking to convene a session of the AICC to remove SRI. Nijalingappa from the presidency and to facilitate the election of a new party president before the end of December 1969. This move of the ruling congress was taken notice of by the syndicate leaders and immediately they convened a meeting of the leaders at Bangalore to consider the appropriate action to the move of the ruling congress members. They planned counter attack to the proposed meeting of the AICC of Indira group. They also decided to call for their AICC to take action against the Prime Minister and her followers.

Mr. Nijalingappa removed Sri. Fakruddin Ali Ahmed and Sri. C. Subramanyam from the working committee as a reaction to Smt. Indira Gandhi's move. Congress President Sri. Nijalingappa served a show cause notice on Smt. Indira Gandhi on November 4th 1969 as to why disciplinary action should not be taken against her and Mrs. Indira Gandhi in her reply contemptuously brushed aside the demand and instead counter-charged the president with flouting the will of the majority in the party and acting illegally. Mr. Nijalingappa called for a meeting of the working committee of the united congress. Prime Minister's team decided to boycott the said working committee meeting. Almost at the same time the Prime Minister's group held their own working committee in Prime Minister's house to chalk out future strategy to counter

the syndicate move. They in their working committee decided to convene a meeting of their AICC members in Delhi on November 22nd and 23rd. Accordingly Smt. Indira Gandhi's AICC meeting was held on 22nd and 23rd November in Delhi and resolved to remove Sri. Nijalingappa from Presidentship. On the other hand working committee of Mr. Nijalingappa's group which had a majority of 11 out of 21 resolved to hold their AICC meeting in Gujarat in the later part of December. Accordingly they held their AICC meeting.

There were two working committee meetings and two AICC meetings of the congress one opposing the other at the same time. The split of the congress in their 84 years of life became formal and permanent. These moves and counter-moves on the congress front in Delhi can only lead to officialising the factual split in the party. This must cause serious concern to the public, not merely because the Indian National Congress is the only political party as a credible instrument of National Administration. The split caused great anxiety since it spelled an unprecedented sense of uncertainty at the all powerful centre.

Dr. Ram Subhag Singh was removed from her ministry because he had taken part in working committee resolution of syndicate group.

The working committee of syndicate group resolved to expel the Prime Minister from the party. Syndicate directed congress parliamentary party to elect a new leader. Such an extreme action was taken by the syndicate working committee only in the name of discipline brushing aside the opinion of the vast majority of the congress M.P.s who were against syndicate and most of them were supporting the Prime Minister's stand. In any case Mrs. Indira Gandhi was sure of emerging stronger. The congress party in parliament met under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi and gave her a massive vote of confidence. A resolution moved by Mr. Y.B. Chavan, Home Minister, and seconded by Food Minister Mr. Jagjivan Ram denounced the working committee's decision to expel Prime Minister as invalid and unjustified. This was a triumph to Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

After the split in the Congress, Prime Minister Mrs. Gandhi lost her majority in the Parliament because M.P.s supporting

syndicate walked out of the party which was led by Prime Minister. All the same she had the support of the M.P.s of the opposition parties like DMK, CPM and Muslim League members.

The Prime Minister exhorted her followers in the following words :-

"We are here to face the great battle of challenges of poverty, inequality and backwardness and we must conquer them in this battle and attain victory". Political strategy of the Prime Minister and her senior colleagues, now moved away from the politics of confrontation to one of competition to woo the people with a more imaginative programme of concrete action, instead of indulging any longer in the negative pursuit of denouncing the syndicate as a reactionary and retrograde force which was standing in the way of rapid development.

What happened was the congress faction of Sri. Nijalingappa pursued the policy of wreaking vengeance. Expelling 14 members of AICC who were trekking the path of Mrs. Indira Gandhi resulted in Mr. Nijalingappa's congress becoming weaker and that of Mrs. Indira Gandhi becoming stronger in numbers and influence.

Sri. Jagjivan Ram was made the president of the ruling congress. An AICC meeting of her own was called for at Delhi. It was reported 427 AICC members and 4000 delegates and 35,000 congress workers attended the session. The session was reported to be a great success. Several time-bound concrete programmes of immediate practical value were approved in this session. It was also decided that this AICC session should be followed by a plenary session to be held at Bombay for ratification of the same by the general body of the congress.

The Governments of most of the states passed into the hands of ruling congress. The Governments of states like U.P., Gujarat and Karnataka (then called Mysore) remained in the hands of organisational congress.

Syndicate congress held a plenary session at Gandhinagar in Ahmedabad. This session aimed mostly for the removal of Mrs. Indira Gandhi not even minding assistance of sister parties. Virulent attack on the ruling congress more particularly on Mrs. Indira Gandhi personally were made in that session. Other aspects discussed in this session were many - Ensure credit facilities for small farmers not deemed to be credit-worthy, Early abolition of privy purses and privileges of Princes, A scheme of insurance for crops and cattle, Effective land reforms, Assurance of a minimum living standard to every family by 1975.

However there was to mention made of growth of monopolies and concentration of wealth. This was interpreted as a very important omission in view of the socialistic pattern of society approved in Avadi Session of Madras. They also passed resolutions that steps should be taken for the organisation of landless labour and a trade union movement free from the pressure of industry or the Government, including introduction of crash programmes for reducing the unemployed educated youth. As regards the problem of rural unemployed it was decided to set up agro-based industries and agricultural processing industries along with ensuring minimum wages for all agricultural labour. Growth of co-operatives and profit sharing schemes for industrial labour were recommended. It was also resolved that prohibition should be brought about within a period of five years.

Further the various charges made by the organisational syndicate congress against ruling congress were that it often deviated from the approved path of foreign policy, with the inevitable consequences of decline in international prestige of India resulting sometimes in antipathy to our view and jeopardy to national interests. It called for corrections of these deviations and distortions in the foreign policy of the Government so that India's foreign policy could be better understood and respected in the comity of nations. Not satisfied with this the syndicate congress stated "that it followed with concern and anxiety the changes in the attitude of the soviet union towards its relations with Pakistan." While it had and could have no objection to the soviet union cultivating friendly relations with Pakistan, the

resolution said, "it is difficult to reconcile its friendly relations with India with soviet supply of arms to Pakistan in full knowledge of the fact that, that country professes hostility only to India and its armament programme can only be aimed at us.

Their foreign policy resolution was the longest showing thereby their greatest interest was in foreign policy which is quoted below for the information of the readers.

"The congress had stood for the freedom of all peoples subjected to colonial rule, for racial non-discrimination and equality, for the preservation of peace and growth of co-operation in the world. Internationally as internally in our own country the congress has stood for far-reaching changes based on justice and freedom, but without resort to violence and hatred. This basic policy continues to guide and inspire the congress.

While with the dissolution of imperialist and colonial regimes political freedom has spread widely in the world, there has simultaneously emerged concentration of military diplomatic power round a few super powers that have not hesitated to commit aggression on countries in their orbit of influence.

In the confrontation of military diplomatic strength, while condemning such acts of aggression and resisting such attempts whenever an opportunity arose, the congress has favoured non-alignment. The congress believes in non-alignment dynamically conceived and applied in a changing world.

Non-alignment involving consideration of international issues on their merits, when firmly adhered to, can serve our national interests and security, raise India's influence in world affairs and help to reduce tensions in the world.

The congress endeavours to forge close co-operation among medium and small powers to uphold their sovereignty and extend the area of peace. It rejects the hegemonic claims of super powers, their endeavours to stake out spheres of influence and firmly repudiates the doctrine of "Limited Sovereignty" for any country.

The congress is keeping with its traditions and faith, affirms its support to the freedom fighters in the African colonies of Portugal. Wherever colonialism re-emerges, no matter what its garb, the congress ranges itself against it and stands by the oppressed seeking to regain their freedom. So does the congress extend its active support to fighters for racial equality in South Africa, Rhodesia and elsewhere.

The welcome withdrawal of some great powers from the Indian ocean and the Middle East is sought to be treated as vacuums to be filled by one super power or another. The congress is opposed to setting up or continuance, of military, naval or air base by any outside power in these regions. It likewise opposes stationing of navel fleets of outside great powers in the oceans around us. It seeks close political and economic co-operation among the countries in the regions for safeguarding their frontiers, strengthening their freedom to pursue their own chosen paths to progress, and to foster mutual aid and co-operation in economic and cultural life of the peoples.

The congress has always and everywhere opposed aggression and occupation of foreign territories. It has likewise refused to condone intervention by outside armed forces in the international disputes of a country. At the same time, the congress recognises and upholds the right of every country to its unfettered existance within its own prescribed frontier. These considerations determine the attitude of the vexing problems in the West Asia and South East Asia.

The congress considers the U.N. as the custodian of the emerging world conscience and a forum for orginising and securing world peace, welcomes the varied activities of U.N. family of institutions to assist economic and social development the world over and would further like the U.N. to devise means to safeguard human rights against threats of encroachments. While the congress recognises the usefulness of regional or functional conferences between states, it cannot countenance getting together of states for political purposes on the basis of religious solidarity. Secularism like freedom, is indivisible.

The congress lays special emphasis on India's relations with her immediate neighbours. It is anxious to strengthen bonds of friendship and co-operation with the neighbours and make its contribution to the promotion of their prosperity and strengthening of their security, and assures them that differences, if any, with them would be solved promptly and peacefully.

India has no hostile feelings, much less hostile designs, against Pakistan and even China. Towards them we shall maintain the posture of friendship consistant with the primary needs of our security and welcome neighbourly relations and restoration of normalcy.

China's relations with India continue to be unfriendly. We are not concerned with the internal policies of that vast country but we have to take note of its hostile intentions and the fact of its occupation of Indian territory. We cannot submit to either and will pursue unremittingly our efforts to deal with these situations in the interests of our security and integrity and resist any attempt at subversion or incitement to disloyalty or sedition.

The congress welcomes the climate of relaxation of tensions between the power groupings of the West and East. It hopes that the European Security Conference will help to halt the arms race and establish mutual confidence. The main task of the 1970's is to meet the critical needs of development and demands tangible moves towards narrowing the disparities between nations and peoples. The congress welcomes the flow of economic and technical aid from one section of the world to the other so long as it is freely accepted by the recipient country, but it strongly opposes any strings attached to such aid either directly or indirectly.

The congress has followed with concern and anxiety the change in the attitude of USSR towards its relations with Pakistan. While it has and can have no objection to the Soviet Union cultivating friendly relations with Pakistan, it is difficult to reconcile its friendly relations with India with soviet supply of arms to Pakistan in full knowledge of the fact that the country professes hostility only to India and its armament programme

can only be aimed at us. These developments highlight the need for self reliance and strict adherence to the policy of non-alignment.

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Mr. Nijalingappa's catalogue of allegations against Mrs., Indira Gandhi accused Prime Minister of being responsible for every conceivable administrative failing, deviation from congress ideals, distortion of foreign policy, development of a personality cult, betrayal of fascit tendencies and destruction of democratic norms. (It is singularly clumsy and ineffective).

There was an air of unreality about the plenary session of the organisation congress held in Gandhinagar, Ahmedabad. There was a hallow ring in the session, promising all things to all men will not carry it anywhere, this old congress does not carry the responsibility of implementing their resolutions and therefore everything and anything is included in their resolutions. The resolutions are silent on the question of menacing growth of monopolies or the increasing concentration of wealth. While it was silent about USA's policy of arming and abetting Pakistan, USSR was warned against supply of arms to Pakistan. Judging by the tone and tenor of their exhortations, they were only showing themselves to be anti-soviet and anti-communist and pro-USA.

**Bombay Session of the New Congress :** The answer to the various challenges of the old congress could be found in the resolutions and programme of the Bombay Session of the New Congress which could be concretely implemented for the immediate benefits of the poor and the down trodden people of country. In addition the ruling congress is having the Government of India in their hands as against the organisation congress which could implement their decision only after the Government goes into their hands.

The ruling congress as per their Delhi AICC resolutions held their plenary session in Bombay on 27th and 28th of December 1969. The Bombay session was a great success in that lakhs of people from all over the country attended the

session. Their discussions and resolutions centered the removal of poverty, and attack on the right reaction. Here are their decisions :-

Their main attack was against right reaction and communalism. Some of the reactions on the resolutions are to mitigate poverty and reduce the gap and disparities between the rich and the poor and fighting communalism with all the force it commanded. It evidently was the struggle against the forces of status-quo and those which sought change. It was not merely an attempt to change economic condition of the people but also the aim was to bring about the social transformation; decisions were also taken in respect of preparing workers trained and oriented in the work of trade union, cultural developments, industry, educational, social and cultural fields. A big programme for this purpose all over India was proposed to be launched. The resolution also pointed out that the forces of reaction should be fought and the concept of secular democracy should be strengthened. (a) The important and export trade should be taken over by the Government, (b) Land reforms should be introduced, (c) Monopoly procurement in agricultural commodities should be undertaken by the Government, (d) Credit provisions should be made most liberal to all including poor as well as landless labour, (e) abolition of privy purses and privileges of princes, Nationalisation of general insurance, ceiling on urban property, improvement of dry farming for the benefit of poor farmers - all these should be implemented. A new definition of credit - worthyness which should be connected to productivity must be given. Action to be taken against tax evasion; slum clearance subsidising basic drugs, imposition of cess for raising resources, free allocation of house sites for harijans and the house-less, are to be effectively undertaken. Private sector should be subservient to the public sector; in other words the public sector should be in a commanding position of the economy.

Having promised to the people the above mentioned economic, social and political programmes the ruling congress now called "CONGRESS (I)" has now to translate promises into performance.

When one compares the set of resolutions passed by respective plenary sessions of the congress at Ahmedabad and Bombay respectively, compares their presidential addresses, he or she is bound to conclude - that the ruling congress was now on brass-stack while the rival congress was more bent on attacks on the ruling congress though some economic programmes are similar to one another. What is more specifically Mr. Nijalingappa was inclined towards moving away from SOVIET RUSSIA giving place to South East Asia and European countries to expand the non-alignment forgetting what great strength and benefit could be obtained from soviet Russia in our world relations.

Thus the split in the Indian National Congress which fought and won Indian independence in its long and strenuous life of 84 years was split into two even as the mother India was cut into two. Here one has to cast his eye on the past history to ponder over the events that brought about the split. On the side of smt. Indira Gandhi it can be charged that she broke the discipline of the party in advising free vote to her followers in the presidential election of 1969. Yes, it is a sin of indiscipline on the part of Smt. Indira Gandhi. But subsequent efforts made by Mr. Chavan to patch up differences was a stupendous task. The working committee of the congress was always a directive force in its life of 84 years. The working committee met and passed a unity resolution unanimously under the Presidentship of Sri. Nijalingappa. This unity resolution was a directive to the entire congress to accept and work it out. But the same Mr. Nijalingappa and his few followers including Mr. Morarji desai and others defied the unity resolution and formed what they called "CONGRESS (O)". Thus the split was complete. "To err is human and to forgive is divine" - this old saying was given a go by, by Sri. Nijalingappa and his followers. One has the right now to ask Sri. Nijalingappa if he has not broken the discipline on his part by declining to accept the unity resolution of the congress working committee. How could he be better than Smt. Indira Gandhi who broke the discipline. What followed the indiscipline of the Prime Minister on the one hand and the indiscipline of Mr. Nijalingappa on the other is a tragic story."The bright day is gone and we are for the

dark". The country is not able to recoup the damage till to-day. It is a tragedy never to be forgotten. It is said "the reasonable man adopts himself to the world - the unreasonable one tries to adopt the world to himself". As for me (author) while loyalty to leader took precedence, discretion took a second place.

## IV PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

The fourth Presidential election is unique in its own way. Firstly, the simmering differences in the Indian National Congress between the followers of Indira Gandhi and Syndicate came into open and split the organisation into two groups, which the judges, for the identification purposes called congress (R) and congress (O).

Secondly, the well guarded discipline in the congress party ever since its inception was shattered by cross voting by most of the members of parliament against the officially nominated congress candidate.

Thirdly, it is a singular instance in the political history of any nation, where the President's election has been challenged before the highest court of the country.

For these reasons and because the author himself has taken a major role in initiating the proceedings as one of the petitioners, a short resume of the case is given below:

The constitution bench of the Supreme Court sat on January 12, 1970, to consider the election petition against Mr. V.V. Giri. Mr. Giri's election as president was challenged on the following grounds among others :

1. The nomination papers of certain candidates were wrongfully rejected by the returning officer.
2. The nomination papers of Mr. V.V. Giri, the respondent, was wrongly accepted by the returning officer.
3. The nomination papers of certain other candidates were wrongly accepted by the returning officer.
4. Part III, Section 21 of the Presidential and Vice Presidential Act, were ULTRA VIRES of the constitution.

5. Rules 4 and 6 of the Presidential and Vice Presidential election Rules, promulgated under Section 21 of the Act, and ULTRA VIRES of the constitution.
6. Elected members of the Legislative Assemblies of the Union Territories were entitled to be included in the electoral college and their wrongful non-inclusion has materially affected the result of the election and also violated the Art.14 of the constitution.
7. The offence of the undue influence has been committed with the connivance of the respondent by publication and distribution of a pamphlet.

The petition was being heard by a Bench consisting of Mr. Justice M. Sikri, Mr. Justice S.M. Shelat, Mr. Justice V. Bhargava Mr. Justice G.K. Mitter and Mr. Justice C.A. Vaidyalingam.

All the judges held on the first six issues (1-6) in favour of the respondent and against the petitioners. Regarding the Seventh namely the publication and distribution of the pamphlet Justice Bhargava and Justice Mitter held that there was no undue influence in their separate judgements.

JJ Sikri, Shelat and Vaidyalingam in their common judgement held that the publication and distribution of the pamphlet constituted undue influence. But because the pamphlet was not issued with the connivance of the respondent and as it did not materially affect the election, the election cannot be set aside under section 18 of the Act. Hence the petition was dismissed.

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The judges pronounced on 11th May 1970 that they would not award any cost to either side. As the respondent has succeeded in the petition normally he could expect award costs in his favour. But one cannot overlook the fact that the bulk of the oral evidence in this case centred round the question as to whether there was publication and distribution of the scurrilous pamphlet in the central hall of the parliament. -----

Quite a number of M.P.s was responsible for it. -----  
The respondent has not succeeded in disproving dissemination  
of the pamphlet in the central hall. It would not be right to make  
an award of costs in his favour.

On the whole the petition was dismissed with no cost.

The author had nothing against the election of Shri. V.V.  
Giri as President. But he only wanted the highest court of the  
country should condemn the malpractices that may be practised  
in an election particularly to the highest office of the country.  
The author is fully satisfied that his object is accomplished.

## WAR BETWEEN EAST AND WEST PAKISTAN.

Pakistan was in two wings - East and West - separated by a distance of more than 2000 kms. By religion though both the parts are Muslim, the language, culture and habits were very much different from each other. Sheik Mujibur Rehman was the accepted leader of East Pakistan. As such Mujibur Rehman became the most popular leader of East Pakistan. If ever elections were held it was expected Mujibur Rehman would emerge as the sole leader of East Pakistan.

In the meanwhile general elections were held in Pakistan and as expected Mujibur Rehman's Awami League arising out of majority population of east Pakistan won the majority of the seats there and this gave Mujibur Rehman an absolute majority in the National Assembly of Pakistan. In the discussions that followed regarding the formation of Government between the leaders of East and West Pakistan Mujibur Rehman was insisting on establishment of Civilian Government withdrawing the military rule before his Awami League participates in the march 25th, opening session of the national Assembly in which his party held 167 of the 313 seats-all from East Pakistan. For the first time in its history the Dacca Radio broadcast hymns from the Gita demonstrating the secular character of non-violent movement launched by Mujibur Rehman.

As regards East Pakistan several clashes broke out between civilians and West Pakistani soldiers in which several persons were killed and wounded: This is the reprise that out-broke openly in the form of civilian war within East Bengal. Conciliation meetings between Mujibur and West Pakistan leaders were started in order to bring about peace between the East and West Pakistan. East Pakistan observed "Resistance Day" on March 23rd 1971 in response to the call given by the Chhatra Parishad and decided to observe hartal to back up the demands for "emancipation of Bangladesh". There was hardly any pakistani flag in entire East Bengal. The Independence movement of East Pakistan became almost unanimous all over

the country. Bangladesh was at a flesh point on account of West Pakistani soldiers killing hundreds of East Bengal civilians and wounding thousands more. Mujibur Rehman declared Independence of East Bengal, thus declaring the birth of an Independent Bangladesh, while in Pakistan Yahya Khan ordered out the army to enter East Pakistan and defeat all the rebel (Rehman's) efforts. Thus a full war was declared between West Pakistan and East Bengal.

The Pakistan army waged war against citizens of Decca, killed thousands of citizens and arrested Rehman along with most of the leaders and declared martial law all over the country. Mujibur Rehman forces re-occupied Decca City defeating Yahya forces. In the meanwhile Pakistani armies butchered three lakhs citizens of East Bengal. By 31st March East Bengal revolution succeeded in defeating Pakistani forces all over the country and kept them on their run almost declaring a total victory.

While the civil war in East Bengal was being waged and the entire country was in commotion under the rule of Mujibur Rehman, Pakistan and its army nominally kept its rule in that country. Frequent fights with the Pakistani army and East Bengal youth was no rare occurrence. Pakistani army felt shaking everywhere.

India did not rush either to help Mujibur Rehman's rule nor sent its own army for his help. Pressure was mounting up in India to rush its military to help Bangla internal forces.

Millions of displaced persons from Bangladesh trekked into India and were put up in huge number of camps on the border of West Bengal. The question of feeding and sheltering these millions of Hindu displaced persons was a Himalayan task. Lakhs of voluntary bodies took up this humanitarian task with great courage and Indian people all over India came forward with huge donations of food materials, clothes, medicines etc. to keep the displaced persons in as good a comfort as possible. This humanitarian work will go down in history as a great work of compassion. The author was included in a small committee of Congress (0) leaders to visit various camps of displaced persons from East Bengal and report the matter to the Congress

(0). This committee visited nearly fifty camps and saw with their own eyes the most pitiable condition of the displaced persons from East Bengal and submitted their report for maximizing the support to these helpless people in every possible way.

The Prime Minister of India challenged the Pakistani claim that everything was normal in East Bengal and said, the proof of most troublesome situation in East Bengal was shown by huge number of displaced persons entering into India which was forced to take up the safety of them all.

In the wake of the claim made by Pakistan that everything was normal in East Bengal, it was ridiculous that Pakistan sought UN help in getting two million tons of food grains and also rivercraft, barrages and other transport. To deal with the situation in East Bengal Mr. Yahya Khan decided to meet Mr. U.Thant, Secretary General of U.N.O.

The Prime Minister Smt Indira Gandhi forewarned all Nations through their envoys if the situation in East Bengal continued to be what it was India would not hesitate to take steps on humanitarian grounds. Several Humanitarian organisations of the world offered to visit East Bengal to study the situation. But the Pakistani army would not permit any. On the other hand the Pakistani rulers were concocting stories to hide the real state of affairs in Bangla Desh from the outside world. "They knew if any impartial body was allowed into Bangla Desh the mischievous propaganda designs would be revealed". Mukti Fouj commandos launched frontal attacks on Pakistani positions killing men from very many areas in East Bengal. Pakistani forces were on the run in most places where attacks took place.

More than three million people have fled into eastern India on account of terror unleashed by the West Pakistan army in Bengal Desh during the past six weeks and the tide shows no signs of ebbing at all. India's fear was that it may turn into a tidal wave within a few weeks, if famine on the one hand and the Pakistani butchering on the other continued on that scale.

The pressure of genocide in East Bengal by Pakistani armies was very great especially on India. Smt. Indira Gandhi

called upon world powers to intervene to re-establish peace and security in the sub-continent, which she said had been threatened by the calculated ruthless attack of civilian population, particularly Hindus. And yet there was no easing of the situation. The two super powers - the United States and the Soviet Union and several western countries were bringing pressure on Pakistan to work out an early political settlement in strife-ridden East Bengal in response to Prime Minister's appeal. Yet the fight between Pakistani forces and Mukti fouj of Mujibur Rehman had been rising from day to day. Several thousands of Pakistani armies were killed in the fight. The fight between these two forces engulfed the entire East Pakistan and everywhere it was the Pakistani army that was losing.

In response to the call of the Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi to the world powers to use their influence to ease the situation in East Bengal, the British Parliamentary delegation headed by Mr. Arthur Bottomley visited India and Pakistan. On return to London, in a statement he said - "delegation members agreed that the situation in East Bengal and in the refugee camps in India were appalling. He condemned the Military Governor of East Pakistan who, he said "Knew nothing at all about economic and social matters". There can be no return of normalcy in East Pakistan until there is a political settlement". Military solution was no solution at all to the problem of East Pakistan.

In the meanwhile East Bengal Patriots raised a liberation force and began attacking and killing Pakistani forces. In spite of a very critical situation in East Pakistan, U.S.A. took recourse for supply of huge military equipment and arms to Pakistan to enable Pakistan to tide over the crisis. Mr. Chester Bowles, former American Ambassador to India, condemned the American policy of supplying arms to Pakistan. According to Mr. Bowles, U.S. once again had committed an abysmal error in Asia, one that historians may find even more difficult to condone or excuse than the debacle in Indo-China. India however found it too burdensome to bear the pressure of ten million refugees of East Pakistan in its own territory.

In spite of the fact, that the situation in East Pakistan was getting worse day by day, the response of the International

Community was poor. But India pursued its effort to obtain sympathy and help for Bangla Desh while India herself was doing her best in all respects to help Bangla Desh and Mujibur Rehman.

The Canadian Parliamentary Delegation called upon the big powers to exert pressure possibly through the United Nations, for creating a proper climate in East Bengal to enable the return of the refugees from India. The delegation also described this situation as one of world questions.

Nixon Administration in U.S.A. however was unmoved with the East Bengal crisis and the difficulty of India in bearing the burden of ten million refugees from East Bengal. Mukti Fouj of Mujibur Rehman was intensifying its fight against West Pakistan army. It looked as if the army of West Pakistan was going down everywhere.

As the critical situation in East Bengal was getting more and more fierce and the West Pakistan military situation was getting weaker and weaker the Government of Pakistan arrested Mr. Mujibur Rehman, the leader of the anti West Pakistan, and the *de facto* ruler of Bangla Desh and kept him somewhere secretly in West Pakistan. This move of the West Pakistan did not deter the Mukti Fouj in their determination to fight out the military force of the Pakistan.

Here in India the Government charged the U.S. with "abetment" in the Pakistan military regime. Atrocities on the people of Bangla Desh continued. U.S. arms supply was posing a danger to India's security. What is more Mr Yahya Khan was posing a threat to India, that he would declare a general war "if India attempted to seize any area of East Bengal. But India constantly declared that "she is ready to defend herself", if Pakistan used any pretext to launch an attack on India. It was India's confirmed belief that East Bengalis would and should get their birth right of independence. She did all that she could to aid and support East Bengal in her determination to be free from West Pakistani rule.

Chinese also did not fail to show their hatred against India. For they sent their Engineers and technicians and probably

some military experts to East Bengal to render help to West Pakistani forces.

The world became conscious of the holocaust in East Bengal. The Washington Post urged the U.S., the Soviet Union and China to issue a joint appeal for the restoration of peace in East Pakistan and to avoid War between Pakistan and India. It also said a holocaust unmatched was taking place in East Pakistan, and the Central Government was putting down the Bangla Desh movement and the world at large was not doing enough to stop it. It also said a war between Pakistan and India was far from unlikely in view of what it called Pakistan's policy of expelling its citizens across the borders and Indian support for Bangla Desh movement. Death from starvation and disease in East Pakistan had not been enough to mobilise the UN or U Thant to prevent the disaster.

As early as August 11th 1971 both Russia and India in a joint statement called for urgent political solution with regard to East Bengal situation. They also warned that in the absence of a political solution the matters would go more critical. It would imperil the future of not only East Bengal but Pakistan as a whole.

As against this Indo-Soviet appeal, Bangla Bandhu Mr. Sheikh Mujibur Rehman was reported to be on military trial at Rawalpindi. India appealed to several heads of Governments and UN Secretary General U Thant to use their influence with President Yahya Khan of Pakistan and twenty four heads of Governments, including those of the U.S., the Soviet Union, Britain, France and Yugoslavia were addressed by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi to save the life of Mr. Mujibur Rehman and to enter into fruitful negotiations with him to evolve a political settlement acceptable and honourable to all concerned. This was not heeded by Pakistan President. On the other hand Yahya Khan treated the Bangla Desh affair as a domestic affair. Though U Thant, Secretary General of U.N.O. interfered and tried to persuade Yahya Khan not to proceed with the trial of Bangla Bandhu Mujibur Rehman, it received no consideration at the hands of Pakistan President. Senator Edward Kennedy indicted the military regime in Pakistan that it had committed genocide in Bangla Desh. He

denounced the secret trial of Sheik Mujibur Rehman by a military tribunal as a travesty of the fundamentals of International Law.

The Soviet Government in a communication to President Yahya Khan expressed its strong disapproval of the threats of war that have been uttered by the Pakistan regime.

India who clandestinely supported Mukti Fouj of Bangla Desh in its fight against Pakistani forces came out into the open by declaring its full support to the freedom struggle in Bangla Desh., In fact if India had entered into war with Pakistani forces in Bangla Desh, the whole situation of fight against Pakistani forces in Bangla Desh would have taken a turn for the open war. The world became conscious of the situation, and a few nations organised themselves to show their resentment to Pakistan. An International team including Parliamentarians, University Professors, Journalists, and men in public life from twelve countries including United States, Britain, Australia, Argentina, Norway, Nigeria and Afghanistan proposed to march into Bangla Desh from Indian side, but they were persuaded not to undertake the march. But their decision to do so gave the world wide publicity. To this extent it was a great advantage to India's entry into war. They presented a letter to Pakistani High Commissioner stating that they did not recognise the Pakistani occupation of Bangla Desh, thereby exposing not only the "Monstracy" of Yahya Khan but also all other monsters who are on the United Nations.

While the war in Bangla Desh was heightening day by day Pakistan armies in the western sector were getting aggressive. For the first time since the month - Pakistan build-up along India's western border was intensified by Pakistan. Jet fighter aircraft of the Pakistani Air Force intruded into the Indian air space over Punjab, thus adding to the tension in this strategically vital sector. The Pakistani fighters came into Indian territory in two waves and the Indian Air Force took appropriate counter measures and drove them out of the country. This is the first and the major violation of Indian air space in the western sector. This was also an indication of the future trouble that was likely to arise in addition to the war that was waged by Pakistan in the eastern sector. India took it as a warning of the dangers likely to arise in the western sector. There were three more

violations of the cease-fire agreement, one in the Tithwal area on November 1st 1971 and two in the Poonch and Nowshera sector. India protested against these Pakistani intrusions.

While the war in the eastern sector was rising high, war clouds were hovering over the western sector. The Prime Minister Indira Gandhi took up a mission to visit western countries to persuade especially U.S.A. not to make war supplies to Pakistan. Though U.S.A. did not fall in line with Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, several other European nations agreed with Indira Gandhi's mission and promised not to make supply of any war material to Pakistan. To this extent it can be said that Indira Gandhi's visit to western countries was a moderate success. On return to India Smt. Indira Gandhi informed the cabinet colleagues and the Parliament of her twenty days efforts in western countries.

The war in East Bengal took serious turn. Mukti Bahini very effectively dealt with Pakistani forces. The defeats of Pakistani forces at Mukti Bahini's hands was clear. Aid from western countries was pouring in, in one form or the other. Yahya Khan, President of Pakistan became nervous over this successive defeats his army was facing in East Bengal. Fearing an outburst in western sector Pakistani President ordered out emergency in the country and moved troops all along the border in the western sector and dumped large scale arms and ammunitions all along the cease-fire line. At the same time Pakistani Air Force in the eastern sector started firing and bombing Indian villages. He was adding fuel to the fire.

The seriousness of the situation in East Bengal - Mukti Bahini registering success in all sectors against Pakistani forces, U.S.A. military aid to Pakistan was increased to a high pitch. Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi made special appeal to Mr. Nixon, the American president, to stop military supplies to Pakistan and instead help finding a political solution to the question of East Bengal. Mr. Nixon's reply to Prime Minister sent through American Ambassador in Delhi was that India was adopting an increasingly intransigent and non co-operative attitude towards efforts at de-escalating the crisis in the sub-continent. He wanted the withdrawal of both the forces from the border areas for which the Indian Prime Minister's reply was

- that "the only troops that should be withdrawn are the Pakistani troops in Bangla Desh". Their presence in Bangla Desh is a threat to India's security. Mr. Nixon made the same suggestion to Soviet Russia also. The Prime Minister warned Mr. Nixon not to order India to do what he wished. She insisted that India being close to East Bengal should mind her own territorial integrity and sovereignty which are threatened through the war in East Bengal.

"When Rome was burning Nero was fiddling". Surprisingly Pakistan chose to bomb our airports in Srinagar, Amritsar and Agra among other several targets on December 3rd 1971, thus declaring a war against India. The author was in a meeting of the congress party in Parliament in the Central Hall when darkness overtook the entire Delhi City. We were informed that Pakistan was hurling war clouds in the western border of India. The meeting broke up and the members groped through darkness to their residences. The whole night was spent by Delhi residents in darkness.

The next day the Prime Minister branded the Pakistani attack on India as "full-scale war" and declared that the aggression should be decisively and finally repelled. Thus the war on Bangla Desh became a war on India.

### **PRIME MINISTER'S BROAD CAST TO THE NATION :**

#### **Bangla Desh Comes Into Existence:**

"I am speaking to you at a moment of great peril to our country and our people. Some hours ago, soon after 5.30 P.M. on the 3rd of December 1971, Pakistan launched a full-scale war against us. The Pakistan Air Force suddenly struck at our air fields in Amritsar, Pathankot, Srinagar, Avantipur, Jodhpur, Ambala and Agra. They opened fire at our defensive positions in Sulemanki, Khem Karan, Poonch and other sectors. Since last March we have borne the heaviest of burdens and withstood the greatest of pressures in a tremendous effort to urge the world to bring about a peaceful solution and prevent the annihilation of an entire people whose only crime was to vote democratically. But the world ignored the basis causes and concerned itself only with certain repercussions. The situation was bound to

deteriorate. A courageous band of freedom fighters have staked their all in defence of the values which are basis to our way of life. To-day a war in Bangla Desh has become a war on India. This imposes on me, my Government, and the people of India great responsibility. We have no other option but to put our country on a war-footing. Our forces are mobilised for the defence of the country. Emergency has been declared for the whole of India. Every necessary step is being taken.

We are prepared for any eventuality. I have no doubt that by the united will of the people the wanton and unprovoked aggression of Pakistan should be decisively and finally repelled. In this the Government has been assured of full and un-flinching support of all political parties and every citizen of India.

Aggression must be met and the people of India will meet it with fortitude, determination, discipline, and utmost unity, JAI HIND".

What followed the war by Pakistan on India was the suspension of arms by U.S.A. to India ignoring the basic realities of the Bangla Desh crisis. The arms suspension consisted of (1) to suspend the issuance of all future ammunition listed for India (2) Not to issue any new licences or renew existing ones (3) To cancel several licences. In spite of pressures, Prime Minister Indira Gandhi refused to declare America as an unfriendly country for all the acts of omission and commission by U.S.A.

Now the position was that India was forced to open fighting on both western and eastern fronts which they most forcibly started. Indian Air Force struck on Karachi and Dacca. The very next day IAF destroyed 33 Pakistani planes and 12 Patton tanks in Punjab and Jammu sector. Indian forces advanced seven kilometers into Pakistan territory, capturing nine villages of Pakistan. Pakistani attack on Ganganagar was repulsed. All this and many more successes in various positions along western border were achieved the very next day after the war was declared. The Parliament pledged to fight this war to the finish. People all over India were determined to do everything he or she could do to inflict utter defeat on Pakistan. The war went on in both eastern sector as well as in the west. Success after

success followed for India. While Indian forces kept Pakistani forces driving back from position to position and war was raging, Russia came forward to warn big powers and all other countries not to interfere in Indo-Pakistan conflict and further declared that the only solution for this war was a political settlement in East Bengal.

Russia ventured to issue a statement on the situation in the sub-continent arising out of war in the western and eastern sectors of India. The following is the Russia statement on this war :-

" In the face of the military threat now overhanging Hindustan, the Soviet Union comes out for the speediest ending of the bloodshed and for a political settlement in East Pakistan on the basis of respect for the lawful rights and the interests of its people.

" The Soviet Government believes that the Governments of all countries should refrain from steps that would signify in this or that way their involvement in the conflict and would lead to a further aggravation of the situation in the Hindustan Peninsula.

" Reports are coming in about a drastic aggravation of the situation in the Hindustan Peninsula; on December 3rd, Pakistan aviation bombed and strafed a number of towns in North-Western India. Armed clashes are taking place on the Indo-Pakistani border.

" It is well known that the situation created in East Pakistan as a result of the Pakistan Government's actions against the population of the part of the country was the main cause of the tension that mounted lately in relations between Pakistan and India.

" A mass movement for the autonomy, for elementary civil right and freedom developed in East Pakistan in recent years. The Awami League, headed by Mujibur Rehman, received the unanimous support of the East Pakistani population at elections to legislative bodies in December 1970. After these elections talks began between the President of Pakistan and the leaders of the Awami League on the question of the future state organisation that envisaged an autonomy of East Pakistan.

" But evidently not desiring to bring matters to an agreement, the Government of Pakistan suddenly broke off the talks on March 25th 1971. Mr. Rehman and other leaders of the Awami League were arrested and thrown into prison. Started immediately were cruel repressions against the population, thousands of people were killed and many million East Pakistan citizens had to flee to neighbouring India in fear for their life. An atmosphere of mass terror and lawlessness set in in East Pakistan.

" On encountering a growing resistance by the East Pakistan population to the mass repressions and persecutions the Government of Pakistan tried to put the blame for this situation on India and embarked on a course of aggravating relations with it.

" Proceeding from concern for the preservation of peace, the Soviet Government, repeatedly expressed to President Yahya Khan of Pakistan and the Government of Pakistan its concern over the situation in Hindustan Peninsula in connection with the events in East Pakistan.

" Condemning the policy of repressions and persecution as a method of solving political questions, it drew the Pakistan Government's attention to the need of a political settlement in East Pakistan. Expressed from the Soviet side was the conviction that the renunciation of the policy of repressions, the release of Mujibur Rehman and the immediate resumption of talks with the aim of finding such a solution that would accord with the will expressed by the people of East Pakistan at the elections in December 1970, can be the only realistic road.

" This would ensure conditions also for the return to their homes of millions of East Pakistan refugees who found refuge in India.

" Approaching the Government of Pakistan with these considerations, the Soviet Government acted in accordance with the principle of humanitarianism and wishing the Pakistani people well in the solution, in a democratic manner, of the complex problems facing the country.

" Since the Pakistan Government did not take measures for a political settlement in East Pakistan and continued to build up military preparations against India, the Soviet leaders informed President Yahya Khan that Pakistan's armed attack against India, under whatever pretext, would evoke the most resolute condemnation in the Soviet Union.

" The Soviet Union cannot remain indifferent to the developments, considering also the circumstances that they are taking place in direct proximity of the U.S.S.R.'s borders and therefore involve the interests of its security.

" Consistently coming out for the preservation of peace in the Hindustan Peninsula, the Soviet Government finds it necessary to state to the Pakistan leaders with all clarity about the grave responsibility that they assume following this dangerous course".

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A dramatic announcement was made by Prime Minister Indira Gandhi in both houses of Parliament declaring the Republic of Bangla Desh. This was the boldest action of Smt. Indira Gandhi in this war situation in the sub-continent. At the end of the statement, the members gave Mrs. Indira Gandhi a standing ovation and cried in unison "JAI BANGLA". U.S. supported eight nation resolution asking for an India-Pakistan cease-fire and mutual troop withdrawals, was vetoed by Russia for the second time in 24 hours. Russia maintained the basis aspect of the issue must be decided only by Bangla Desh people and not others. U.S.A. suspended economic aid totalling to Rs.657 millions to India because of its continued military action against Pakistan, more so on account of Soviet support given to India in this situation.

Indian troops were defeating Pakistani troops both in eastern sector as well as western sector. Mukti Bahini marched ahead ferociously defeating the Pakistani forces. U.N.O. was not silent over the war in the sub-continent. Argentina moved a resolution desiring cease-fire and repatriating ten million refugees to their homes in East Bengal. This resolution was

passed by General Assembly by a vote of 104 as against 11. There were 10 abstentions. Naturally India voted against and Pakistan voted for it. The resolution included a paragraph calling upon the Security Council to take appropriate action in the light of the present resolution.

Most ferociously Indian Air Forces and ground forces marched ahead in both the sectors killing Pakistani forces and capturing several important towns and areas, and destroying many Aircrafts, Tanks, Ships, Gun-boats and submarines, while U.S. was maligning India.

The war situation became so grim that U Thant, Secretary General, requested India and Pakistan to agree to neutral protected zones in and around Decca to allow the evacuation of about 240 U.N. personnel and foreign nationals from Bangla Desh. The reader can imagine by this appeal of U Thant how crest fallen the Pakistan army was in Bangla Desh.

The Indian troops made quick advance in all the sectors in Bangla Desh including troop movement by riverine traffic approaching almost the Capital City of Dhaka. The Indian troops were racing towards Kushtia in the east and Khulna in the South. The last phase of the fighting had begun. Vast quantities of ammunition were left behind by the retreating Pakistani troops in Jessore and Comilla. The Pakistani might in the west also had been crippled. Most of the air fields were struck by I.A.F. bombers.

At this stage Mrs. Prime Minister Indira Gandhi broadcast to the officers and men of the armed forces that "entire country admires you and our people are with you, we are fighting in defence of the great principle that the people of all religions are equally our brothers. We are defending the great ideals of equality and brotherhood, which are the life and blood of our democracy. The people of Bangla Desh, who are overwhelmingly muslims, have given a fitting reply to the military rulers of Islamabad.

Mr. Yahya Khan, President of Pakistan, believed if he opened a second line of attack in the west the pressure of attack in the east would be released. With this view in mind he started

an attack on India in the western sector. Several air fields in the western sector were bombed all of a sudden. The Parliament was in session and all in a sudden all lights went off leaving Delhi in darkness because of the attacks started by Pakistani bombers on our air fields. We in the Parliament House were mortified and left to our residences in utter darkness. It made clear to us that Pakistan had started a second line of offence. This rushed India to start a war against Pakistan. Both in the western sector and the eastern sector with all the war flames started with all vigour and might. Therefore readers could easily identify that it was not India that started the war but it was Pakistan.

In the western sector the fighting was going on furiously. Mr. Z.A. Bhutto was made Vice-Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary in order to re-double the Pakistani fighting against India in Bangla Desh in the east and all along the Indo-Pakistan border in the west. He announced his wrath against India as he entered the Government saying he would continue to fight against India with all means.

The Indian forces threw the Pakistan army back to the western bank of the Munawar Tawi rivulet after inflicting very heavy casualties in the western sector. The march of Indian forces continued relentlessly capturing town after town, and village after village and also capturing several thousands of Pakistani troops. Thus India dominated seas and skies in the west as well as in the east.

Fighting entered into Decca City. Indian Paratroopers engaged Pak defenders; land forces converged from three sides of Decca. The combined columns of the Indian army and Mukti Bahini drew the first blood when they overran a position and took over Decca capturing Colonels, Brigadiers and Generals of Pakistani forces.

Finally Pakistan surrendered in Bangla and India ordered cease-fire. LT. Gen. A.A.K. Niazi, commander of all West Pakistan military and para-military forces in Bangla Desh surrendered to Lt. Gen Jagjit Singh Aurora, General Officer Commanding in charge of eastern command on December 16th 1971. Prime Minister announced in Parliament the fall of West

Pakistani forces in Bangla Desh to the thunderous applause of the entire Parliament. Thus came into existence a new Bangla Desh - a historic even which was the aspiration of the entire people of East Bengal while East Pakistan was dead and gone. Cease-fire orders came into force all along the western front on December 17th 1971 bringing to an end the 14 day India-Pakistan war. The grateful India conferred on Smt. Indira Gandhi the highest award of BHARAT RATNA, who led the nation to victory in the 14 day war against Pakistan.

Yahya's aggression  
Ended in degression  
Indira's adventure  
Is indeed a successful venture.

The fact that the world recognised Bangla Desh within 100 days after the defeat of Pakistan is a fitting tribute to India. This is the most memorable and greatest achievement of the lady Prime Minister of India Smt. Indira Gandhi. This is how India's supremacy was established.

Sri. Sheik Mujibur rehman, father of Bangla Desh independence was kept in Pakistan jails. Under the pressure of Smt. Indira Gandhi and world opinion Sri. Rehman was released by Pakistan and was kept in house-arrest at Rawalpindi.

With free Bangla Desh and her father figure Sri. Sheik Mujibur Rehman in jail in Rawalpindi in Pakistan a political situation was causing anxiety to entire southern hemisphere. Frequent announcement of Mr. Bhutto that he would release Mr. Mujibur Rehman from house-arrest was looked to with great expectation both in Bangla Desh and in India. Probably Mr. Bhutto was keeping his eyes on 90,000 Pakistani prisoners in India with Lt. Gen Niazi also in. Secret talks of release of prisoners were going on between India and Pakistan but nothing came to light. This was no cause for Mr. Bhutto for postponing the release of Mr. Rehman from house-arrest.. At last Mr. Bhutto decided to release Mr. rehman on 8th January 1972.

Mr. Moulana flew unexpectedly into London on January 8th 1972 and from his Hotel Claridges told press that Bangla Desh was an "Unchallengeable Reality" and called for world

recognition and the admission of his country to the United Nations. He also revealed that he had been kept in a condemned cell under sentence of death by hanging during his nine month imprisonment in Pakistan Speaking in a quivering voice and showing no signs of ill health, the 50 year old Sheik said he had given no promise to Mr. Bhutto that Bangla Desh would maintain any link with Pakistan. He thanked India, the Soviet Union, Poland, France and Britain for supporting the cause of Bangla Desh. Mr. Sheik Mujib told reporters: "No people have had to pay as high a price in human life and suffering as the people of Bangla Desh".

He also said that when his people declared him President - "I was a prisoner in the condemned cell awaiting the execution of a sentence of hanging". He was put, on secret trial in Pakistan as a "TRAITOR" but the result of the tribunal has never been disclosed. He was held prisoner" in the worst place imaginable ... solitary confinement, no radio, no letters, no communications with the outside world". He told Bhutto while he was in house-prison, when asked to retain links with Pakistan, that he could not say anything until he returned to his people.

While thanking all those who had supported the liberation struggle, before naming India, the Soviet Union, Poland, Britain, France, he said he was grateful " also to those freedom loving people all over the world including those in U.S.A. He appealed to all states to recognise Bangla Desh, to open diplomatic relations and support its admission to the U.N. He said millions of his people had been killed or tortured mercilessly - "even if Hitler were alive he would have been ashamed". Bangla Desh officials said Sheik Mujib had lost about 42 pounds in weight. Mr. Rehman said that Pakistan had played a dirty game and that there should be some sort of trial for the mass murderers. But now that my people are liberated, I had nothing against the people of West Pakistan. I wish Mr. Bhutto success and good luck".

Smt. Indira Gandhi spoke to Mr. Sheik Mujib from Lucknow to London and invited the Bangla Desh President to visit Delhi.

Mr. Sheik Mujibur Rehman, on arrival from London to Delhi, was given a rousing ceremonial reception befitting a Head of State. As the Sheik clad in a grey suit and a brown overcoat,

stepped out of the Royal Air Force Comet, a twenty-one gun salute boomed while thousands, who had thronged the air port, shouted "JOI BANGLA". President V.V. Giri, Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi, Members of the Union Cabinet and Heads of Diplomatic Missions welcomed the Sheik, who was smothered with garlands of roses and marigolds. President V.V. Giri in a brief welcome speech described the distinguished visitor as "the embodiment of the undying spirit of suffering and sacrifice in the cause of human liberty and human freedom". He also said Sheik's return to their country at this juncture will heighten and ensure the prospects for the establishment of lasting and durable peace in the region". He wished Bangla Bandhu and his people godspeed in their efforts. Sheik spoke with emotion and proclaimed the Indian people as the best friends of his people and paid a tribute to "our magnificent Prime Minister Mrs. Indira Gandhi who is not only leader of Men but also of mankind". Sheik further said that Indian people made this journey possible - from darkness to light, and from captivity to freedom, from desolation to hope and I am at last going back to SONAR BANGLA, the land of my dreams. He concluded on a note of satisfaction" that truth has at last triumphed over falsehood, sanity over insanity, courage over cowardice, justice over injustice and good over evil. He ended the parade ground speech with Joi Bangla, Jai Hind and Jai Indira Gandhi.

Mr. Sheik Mujibur Rehman after a short stay in Delhi returned to his own land. As soon as he landed his people proclaimed him as father of Bangla desh. He became the Prime Minister of Bangla Desh. A twelve member cabinet headed by Sheik Mujibur Rehman was sworn in at the Bangla Bhavan on 12th January 1972. The happiness of the people of Bangla Desh over the installation of the Government was left in no doubt. In a chain of developments underlining the democratic character of the Government of Bangla Desh, Sheik Mujibur Rehman stepped down as the Nation's First President and assumed office as Prime Minister. Mr. Justice Abu Sayeed Chaudhury, who was sworn as the President, was a former High Court Judge and Decca University Vice-Chancellor.

Sheik Mujibur Rehman firmly declared that there was no question of Bangla Desh becoming a part of Pakistan again or

having links with Pakistan in answer to Mr. Bhutto's request for retaining some links with Pakistan.

Sheik Mujibur Rehman started to achieve his object of making Bangla Desh a new Democratic Socialist State. He firmly declared that "out of the ashes that had been left by the barbarous hordes of Mr. Yahya Khan, a new society must be built-up from its very foundations". He reiterated that the Bangla Desh Government would proceed on its own in the matter of trial of war criminals if his appeal to the U.N. for setting up an international tribunal to find out the extent of genocide committed by the occupation forces, went unheeded.

Pakistan President, Mr. Z.A. Bhutto offered to step down and make Sheik Mujibur Rehman President, Prime Minister or whatever he wished with the avowed object of preserving the oneness of Pakistan and this was firmly rejected by Mr. Sheik Mujibur Rehman who said "I do not want Pakistan".

The super powers and most of the other countries of the world gave recognition to independent Bangla Desh but Pakistan with rage against them quit the Common-Wealth after Britain, Australia and New Zealand informed it of their decision to recognise free Bangla Desh.

But Mr. Bhutto's persuasion to retain Bangla Desh in Pakistan were endless. Bangla Bandhu Sheik Mujibur Rehman told Mr. Z.A. Bhutto during their talks in Islamabad that Mr. Bhutto could be President of Pakistan only if Mr. Rehman was allowed to go away to Decca and take over as President of Bangla Desh, according to reports received in the Capital.

Mr. Bhutto in his talks tried to persuade the Bangla Bandhu to agree to have some links with West Pakistan. The vile Mr. Bhutto reportedly made all sorts of appeals but found Mr. Rehman impassive and unmoved.

The Bangla Bandhu reportedly reminded Mr. Bhutto that it was he who tried to prevent Mr. Rehman from becoming President of Pakistan through his actions in preventing the Pakistan National Assembly from meeting and subsequently in

wrecking the talks in March intended to lead to transfer of power from Yahya Khan's Martial Law to civil hands.

All of Mr. Bhutto's attempts to charm his prisoner and appeal to his Islamic brotherhood for some sort of link-up between Bangla Desh and Pakistan met with the repeated remark from the Sheik that he had to go back to his people and consult his colleagues before saying anything.

Mr. Rehman had been kept in complete ignorance of events outside and it was only when Mr. Bhutto, after succeeding Yahya as Chief Martial Law Administrator met him on December 27th that Mr. Rehman had some inkling of the events in the east and the liberation of Bangla Desh.

Mr. Bhutto ultimately had to yield to the logic of events and the impossibility of involving Sheik into any kind of relations.

To the last Mr. Bhutto declined to allow Mr. Rehman either to fly to Decca straight or go to India and then on to Decca. Mr. Bhutto tried to persuade Sheik to agree to go to Iran or Turkey but he refused point blank.

Mr. Sheik Mujibur Rehman had the choice of going to London or to Moscow, informed Pakistan Government. They also said the British Government was informed officially of the choice of London six hours after Sheik Mujib's departure at 12.30 A.M. on Saturday from Rawalpindi.

The British Foreign and Commonwealth Office was asked to make arrangements to receive Sheik Mujibur Rehman less than two hours before his arrival in London. That Islamabad had perhaps more sinister motives in choosing London could be discerned from reports that soon after Bangla Bandhu's plane took off from Pakistan, another plane also left closely behind. Both Mr. Rehman and the Bangla Desh Mission people in London suspected that Pakistanis might try to assassinate him in London and so ordered the strictest of security measures.

Things are settled to peace in Bangla Desh under the leadership of Sheik Mujibur Rehman, Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi visited Bangla Desh and held lengthy talks with Sheik Mujibur Rehman regarding social, political and economic

programmes. In a joint communique issued at the end of their five-and-a-half hour talks, the two Prime Ministers expressed their determination to promote in every possible way co-operation between the Governments and the people of the two countries "inspired by a vision of lasting peace, amity and good neighbourliness. They resolved to give practical shape to the legitimate and deeply felt aspiration of the common peoples of the two countries, guided by the principles of democracy, socialism, non-alignment and opposition to racialism and colonialism in all its forms and manifestations."

All things settled in Bangla Desh with Sheik Mujibur Rehman as Prime Minister and peace dawned on Bangla desh. It was on 12th March 1972 that Bangla's big send off to Indian troops took place with a colourful presentation of beating retreat against the background of a setting sun. The Indian army bade farewell to Bangla Desh, which it had helped to be liberated from the Pakistan occupation army 86 days ago.

About one lakh people joined Prime Minister Sheik Mujibur Rehman in shouting " JOI BHARAT" and "LONG LIVE INDIA BANGLA DESH FRIENDSHIP" as the flags of India and Bangla Desh were brought down at the sounding of retreat., signifying the close of the ceremony of bidding good bye to each other with sweet will and great joy.

Indian army, which had created military history by achieving the surrender of 95,000 enemy soldiers and officers, withdrawing from Bangla Desh 13 days ahead of the date agreed upon by Sheik Mujibur Rehman and Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi at their meeting in Calcutta in February. This gave lie to Pakistan Propaganda that Indian army would permanently stay in Bangla Desh. Mr. Sheik declared amidst applause that the friendship between India and Bangla Desh would be everlasting and no power on earth would be able to destroy it. The Prime Minister of Bangla Desh ended his speech with "JOI Bangla"- "Jai Bahart and "Let our friendship remain immortal".

## CHAPTER 21

### THE PROHIBITION OF BIGAMOUS MARRIAGES BILL 1967.

(The author introduced this unofficial Bill in the parliament)

Shri N. Sri Rama Reddy (Mysore) Sir, I move :

"That the Bill to prohibit bigamous marriages in India be taken in to consideration".

Sir, I have pleasure in introducing the Bill, called the prohibition of Bigamous Marriages Bill, 1967. It is very simple Bill. The object of the Bill is to prohibit bigamous marriages. We have a well known concept of social justice about which we have been talking night and day. I suppose social justice also includes equality of sexes, tolerance of various religions and other concepts which are very well explained in our philosophy in this country and have been practised from the immemorial.

Sir, if a certain situation is existing in the country where social justice is denied, then it calls for a reform that is necessary to bring about social justice. Sir, last year a motion was moved in the Lok Sabha by certain Members that a commission should be set up to go into the question of uniformity in civil code, to bring about laws necessary to create uniform conditions. The then Law Minister, Mr. Govinda Menon was almost agreeable to constituting a commission of the kind. It was reported, "The Union Law Minister's positive response to Jan Sangh Members' suggestion in the Lok Sabha for a commission headed by chief Justice Hidayatullah be appointed to examine the case for reforming the Muslim Personal Law, suggests that the Government may, at last, be willing to grapple with an issue that has too long been treated as sacrosanct". That was the hope created then, since a response in favour of a uniform civil code was given by the late Mr. Govinda Menon in the Lok Sabha. We were hoping that some legislation or some steps would be taken to constitute a commission, a high-powered commission if necessary, headed by a very

eminent jurist like Mr. Hidayatullah, who was the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of India at the time. But that hope now stands belied. Therefore, I have taken the responsibility to bring forward this Bill.

Coming to the object of the Bill. "Article 44 of the Constitution enjoins upon the State to secure for the citizens of India a uniform civil code. The marriage laws as enacted so far are not made universally applicable. It is essential in the interest of social justice that all disparities and discriminations in this behalf should be removed".

Article 44 lays down the Directive Principle-

"The State shall endeavor to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India".

So, it is mandatory. But no step whatsoever has been taken so far in spite of the fact that the constitution came into existence 20 years ago. This is really a lacuna and this has got to be removed. Therefore, at least at this stage, it is necessary that the Government should take up courage to come forward with its own Bill, if necessary, or adopt this bill as its own and see that measures necessary for establishing social justice in this country are taken immediately.

Sir, marriage laws differ to some extent between several communities in India - Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Jews and Parsis. But in one respect, the marriage laws can be said to be almost common among all the communities, except between Muslims and other communities.

The Muslim law says:

"Every person governed by Muslim Law is entitled to marry. A Male Muslim may contract marriage and have as many as four wives at a time. A Muslim woman cannot have more than one husband at a time".

Sir, this is what is laid down for Muslims in respect of marriage. But what is laid down in respect of marriages of Hindus is - I am putting it in my own words- that no Hindu male can marry a second time when his rightfully married first wife is

living. That is to say a Hindu male cannot marry more than one woman whereas Muslims are allowed by law to marry up to a maximum of four women. This is the contrast between the two sections. This is exactly the anomaly that is prevailing in this country in spite of the fact that the Directive Principles lay down that a uniform code shall be laid down. That is what it says:

"The State shall endeavour to serve for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India."

This is a mandatory provision in the Directive Principles which has not been given effect to so far. Therefore, the difference in the marriages laws obtaining in our country between one community and another is an anomaly in terms of our Constitution, particularly with regard to the Directive Principles as contained in Articles 38 and 44 referred to above. Apart from this anomaly in our Constitutional position there is deeper philosophy involved in it and that is the concept of social justice. Polygamy as practised by certain communities in India is devoid of all social justice. It is working against the principle of equality of sexes. So it may be said safely and without fear of contradiction that bigamy is anti-social and even cruel to a degree. Once again I would like to refer to the Directive Principles and how far the State has given effect to these principles. In muslim countries Pakistan is a theocratic State, as we all know. Even in Pakistan bigamy is a prohibition. I would like to quote, "In Pakistan the right of a Muslim to Marry...."

The Vice-Chairman (shri Akbar Ali Khan) : What is the book you are quoting from?

Shri. N. Sri. Rama Reddy: This is Tyyabji on Muslim Law. "In pakistan the right of Muslims to marry four wives is now controlled by the Muslim Family law ordinance of 1961. Before he can marry a second wife, he must get the previous permission in writing of the Arbitration council as provided by section 6 of the Ordinance. The Arbitration Council shall not give permission unless it is satisfied that the proposed second marriage of the husband is necessary and just and it may impose such conditions as it may deem fit before granting such permission to the husband. In deciding any application for permission to marry a second wife, the arbitration Council shall

record its reasons for such decision. An appeal has been provided to the collector in West Pakistan and the Sub Divisional Officer in East Pakistan -- which is now Bangla Desh--from the decision of the Arbitrary Council and the decision on appeal has been made final and cannot be called in question in any court".

This is the situation obtaining with regard to bigamous marriages even in Pakistan which is a Muslim theocratic State.

Again, it is well-known that several obtaining with regard to bigamous already taken up the question of prohibition of bigamous marriages because they are considered to be inhuman.

No less a person than Ayub Khan, in his book 'Friends, not Masters', written when he was President of Pakistan, referred to the fact that "a Muslim is allowed by Islam to have more than one wife under certain conditions" and commented that the permission had been used to "practise indiscriminate polygamy, causing immense misery to innumerable tongue - tied women and innocent children. Thousands of families have been ruined because of the degenerate manner in which men have misused this permission to suit their convenience". In order to make the law of Pakistan truly Islamic, he appointed a commission, headed by a former Muslim Chief Justice of Pakistan, to examine the Muslim personal laws and suggest needed reforms. On its recommendations, he enacted the Muslim Family law Ordinance in 1961, in order to eliminate grave social malpractices. He faced fierce opposition from some Muslim ulemas who accused him of interfering with the divine laws of Islam and even re-writting the holy Koran. He was, however, rewarded by the acceptance of this reforms by the generality of Muslims in Pakistan."

This is the situation obtaining in Pakistan which is a Muslim theocratic State. Not only that. The fact that Muslim countries like Syria, Iran and even Pakistan have come up with changes in Muslim personal laws should inspire progressive Muslims in India in their struggle for reform. The social customs and practices which change from age to age according to the needs of the times have to be seen as ephemeral and distinct from the

basic eternal values of religion. Apart from this, there is the need to have a uniform social code—call it common law for the sake of convenience—for the country as a whole as directed by Article 44 of the Constitution. If the contents of personal laws conflict with the principles of the Common law the need for reconciliation will arise. One day or other and the sooner the problem engages the perspective wisdom of all concerned, the better it would be for the integrated growth of the nation.

This is the motive with which I brought forward this Bill. However, it will be recognised, as has been shown by past experience, that legislation alone will not lead to reform. It can be brought about only by real change of heart. I suppose time has now come to see the truth of the matter. The entire question should be taken up either by the Government or even by the Muslim brethren. You, sir, as a very distinguished citizen of India, with a record of service, and people like you should have taken it up. You, Sir, in private conversations were good enough to express sympathy for the cause of this bill. I am very happy about it and if I have given expression to it, I am not saying anything but truth. Therefore, Sir, the time has now come and it shall not be delayed any further and it has to be taken up. This contradiction, this contradictory situation that is existing in our country, shall have to be removed and we are bound by the Constitution, we have taken the oath by the Constitution, and we have to act according to the Constitution. Therefore, it is but natural for all of us to see that there is no contradiction, there is no conflict, in this. This is only to regularise or to make uniform a system according to the Constitution and this has got to be accepted. I suppose the Government would be generous enough to come forward and adopt this Bill themselves and give all the support necessary to this Bill.

Sir, the fact that polygamy persists in varying degrees still among the Hindus indicates that social reform is a continuing process and has to be achieved. I want to say this to show that there should be real change of heart. Mere law is not enough, but there should be a change of heart. I therefore, plead before the entire Muslim community to see reason and accept this and not to attribute motives when a Bill like this is brought forward in

this House. However, the vantage point to fight the issue is provided by necessary legislation.

Sir, recently in Bombay there was a show by the Muslim women wanting to bring about this legislation. They have put pressure and there was a demonstration by the women in Bombay, Sir, by the intelligent women and all the intelligent women have come forward among the Muslim Community itself. So, Sir, a certain amount of psychological change is necessary and an emotional approach is necessary to accept this proposition. There is no communal motive and no motive should be attached to this. This is my personal view. Therefore, Sir, this long pending reform is an absolute necessity and it should be accepted.

Sir, I was in the UAR recently. If I have to state my personal experience, I spent about a week there at the invitation of my friends in the UAR and there I had the opportunity of discussing this problem. Not even one in thousand has more than one wife, not even one in thousand and it is almost rare.

It may be true. But Sir, there is a certain amount of discontent in the country and I may be permitted to point it out. Because of this situation, there is a certain amount of discontent and this discontent has got to be removed in the interest of the harmonious growth of the country as a nation.

Sir, you will pardon me if I point out to you certain facts. These are facts and nothing but facts. Sir, in the decade, 1951-1961, the census reveals the growth of population in the various religious groups. That is the fact and that is the factual thing and nobody can attribute motives to it. We have to analyse and see which way the facts are moving. We have to take note of these things purely for the sake of the harmonious growth of the nation. Christians have grown by 25 per cent during the last ten year period from 1951-1961. Hindus have grown by 23 per cent. The Muslims have grown by 33 per cent. Sikhs have grown by 26 per cent. The total growth is 33 per cent. If this is so during these ten years, I do not know what is the present position with regard to the growth in population in various religious denominations in this country - it should certainly be more than 33 per cent in the next decade; this is a geometrical

proposition. This is not a very healthy sign. The growth of population itself is not a healthy thing beyond a particular stage. But if one section of people grows at a faster rate than the people of other sections, this might be a cause for some sort of disruption, some sort of comment and some sort of discontent. Therefore, I say that this has got to be taken note of and see that a uniform Civil Code is made available for all sections of the people, without discrimination between religion and religion or sex or anything. Even in the Directive principles it has been laid down that there shall be absolutely no distinction made between sections and sections, trusts, and trusts religions and sections, man and man and things like that. We have to think that uniformity is very necessary. And I am sure the Government will look upon this as a national problem not as a national problem.

A good number of times in this House and in the other House this point has been raised and discussed. I do not mind even the Government's intention to appoint a Commission consisting mainly of Muslims, who have the privilege of advantage of having three or four wives. The Commission appointed for this purpose should go into this question in great depth. Please see that this is not postponed. A mere postponement is no solution. The postponement will not do any good to this country. Now that this Government of Congress (R) have got such an overwhelming majority and have got such a massive mandate from the people - when they are in such a favourable position they should accept this Bill which I have brought before this House. I am sure it will be given a sympathetic consideration, which is necessary, and all the support. I do not see any reason why the Government should not accept this or why anybody should oppose this.

Therefore, Sir, I commend this bill to the consideration of this House.

#### SHRI. B. KEMPARAJ (MYSORE)

Sir, this Bill which has been brought by our friend, Shri N. Sri Rama Reddy, deserves consideration. This has become a necessity in view of the conditions that have been growing in this country.

But I find that in clause 2 there seems to be need for some change in wording. It says:

"Notwithstanding anything contained in any other law or in any personal law, any marriage between two persons solemnized...."

It ought to have been clearly stated thus :

".....marriage between a man and a woman....." That is required because, otherwise, it gives rise to a wrong conception, to a wrong meaning, whether "marriage between two persons" means a marriage between a man and a man, or it means a marriage between a woman and woman. So with this suggestion to make the drafting better and clearer, I want to make the point that in our country, which we call a secular state in our Constitution and under which we have been taking the oath for the last twenty-two years, we have not yet made up our mind to think seriously as to how a uniform law can be brought about under the terms as appear in the Constitution. It has already been referred to by my friend, Mr. Sri Rama Reddy, and Article 44 is very clear and it reads "the State shall endeavour to secure for the citizens a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India". And the State must take it as a duty because a responsibility like that is cast on it. The wording there is very important and you, Sir, are well aware of the legal implications of this wording. We have to bear in mind the words "shall endeavour" appearing in that Article 44. Therefore what are the steps that the State has taken to bring about a uniform civil code throughout the territory of India as far as marriage is concerned?

Now, Sir, as far as marriage is concerned, there is the Hindu Marriage Act, 1955, passed by parliament, and it was subsequently amended in 1964 by the amending Act passed by parliament in that year. Now, Sir, in the Hindu Marriage Act 1955 it is clearly laid down that certain communities, in the country do come under the definition of "Hindu". Who are they? They are shown in the explanation following sub-section 2. (1) (c), and they are Hindus, Buddhists, Jains or Sikhs by religion, as the case may be. Therefore, it is clear that these four communities have been taken to be the persons that have been

embracing or following the Hindu religion and so they have been brought under the Hindu religion. Then what about the other communities? You are aware Sir, that there is the Special Marriage Act and the Christian community is governed by that Act. When such is the case, how can we take different view or a different outlook in the case of marriages of any particular community which will be showing a discrimination in their favour? There should be no discrimination shown in the case of the marriages of the citizens of India. With that end in view a very good case has been made out by my friend, Shri Sri. Rama Reddy, who spoke on his Bill "The Prohibition of Bigamous Marriages Bill" and emphasised the essential need for a uniform civil code in the matter of marriages throughout the territory of India.

. Now, Sir, I do not cast any aspersions, on any community. You, Sir, are a learned person and you know well the Muslim Law and the religious tenets of the Muslims embodied in the Quran. Now in the Quran it is laid down - if I remember right-that talaaq can be given by the wife to the husband and vice versa for the dissolution of the marriage. Because it is there, the liberty of a woman of the Muslim community is safeguarded. With all that why should there be this discrimination still in favour of a Muslim man that he can have a maximum of four wives at a time? Because of that it gives rise to many other things which do develop as a result. Therefore, Sir, even under the Hindu Marriages Act, so many provisions have been incorporated. Sir, section 13 gives the option to a Hindu, a Sikh, a Jain or a Buddhist to seek the protections of the court by filing a petition for divorce or if there is any difference of opinion between the husband and wife, a petition may be filed for the restoration of conjugal rights. But what are the safeguards given to a Mohammedan lady to seek redress in a court of law? Even under the Criminal Procedure Code, you are aware of the Act, that whenever a husband goes to a court to get maintenance and even in a civil court she can go for maintenance. But as far as the maintenance of a Mohammedan lady is concerned, Sir, I do not find any instance and if there is any, I seek your protection; I do not think any such case has come up before the court. There are certain protections which have been given to the Hindu ladies, Christian ladies and other ladies, but what is

the protection except expressing talaaq under Mohammedan law? She has no other go. Therefore, Sir, even among tribal people we have been seeing that the bigamous way of living is being continued. So, when such things are there, there will be so many contagious diseases likely to be spread. Sir, I had an occasion to visit some of the tribal areas in Madhya Pradesh where majority of the people have been suffering from gonorrhea and venereal diseases. Therefore, Sir, if this kind of thing were to develop, we have to seriously think and the Government should also think seriously to bring about an Act which prevents this act of bigamous way of life.

Sir, in Turkey about 20 or 30 years ago, a measure has been brought where the male persons cannot have more than one wife. In Western countries, you have been pleased to see that bigamous marriage has been prevented. Even our Government have made a definite procedure and they have issued circulars and also orders that no Government servant should have two wives. Such a restriction has been brought that whenever a Government servant will have a second wife, he will be punished under the Indian Penal Code and also under the Government Servants Conduct Rules and he will be dismissed not only from the service but he will be sent to the jail. Sir, I had the occasion to conduct some of the cases where the accused have been punished. Therefore, when the Government has been strictly following this rule and has been enforcing rule on its servants and officers, and on every citizen, why this discrimination should be made as far as the Muslim community in the country? I am not personally against it. To safeguard the interest of the womenfolk it is necessary that we should have a uniform law. As for the reference made by our friend, Shri. Reddy, it is up to the leaders like you to take the lead in this behalf and see that such discrimination must not prevail any longer. Though this Bill is having only one clause it requires modification to have a uniform law throughout the country. Similarly under the Special Marriage Act, there is no room for a second marriage unless there is a divorce duly sanctioned by the court. Therefore, these two Acts are there. The third Act is necessary to have a comprehensive method of solemnising the marriage and to have a uniform marriage system throughout the country. With these words I think the Government will bring up a

comprehensive Bill before the House so that the society in our country can develop on a healthy basis and will also have a strong and sturdy generation growing up.

**SHRI. A.D. MANI:**

This Bill which has been moved by any friend, Mr. Reddy, deserves the widest possible support not only in this House but in the country. It is necessary to state here that the Bill has no communal overtones. The Bill is an attempt to have a Common Civil Code which is necessary for a country which claims to be secular, whose constitution is based on secularism. I may mention here that it is only the Muslim community which is affected by this Bill but there is an other group who have a special law of their own. This House has passed the Nagaland bill when a legislature was set up there and you know, since you are dealing with the Code of Criminal Procedure, that even that Code does not apply to Nagaland. We are all concerned with the object of bringing about a common Civil Code in this country. It is a fact that in the Islamic Code also advanced countries like Turkey and Egypt have taken steps to see that marriages are monogamous in their countries. Now to have four wives at any time is a very costly proposition even from the point of view of the health of the husband. You should give him some relief by asking him to speak to one person at a time and to get a proper divorce if the divorce laws of the country permits the divorce. I feel therefore that this Bill has to be looked into very seriously in view of the fact that this is necessary to fill a lacuna in our legal system at the present time. Mr. Kemparej spoke about the wording of clause 2 and said marriage may be between a male and a male. My Hon. friend Mr. Gokhale I am sure, would accept this that when we talk of marriage it is between a male and a female. That is very commonly understood and we need not fear that men are going to be married under this law if the wording is not changed.

I am asking the Law Minister who has been a distinguished Judge himself. He is not likely to mistake this and say that two males can be married. Males can never be married; they can live together but marriage is always between a man and a woman.

Sir, the question of civil code raises various other questions also, Sir, recently I had been to West Germany. West Germany is a highly advanced country and I was surprised that even in West Germany the system of marriage was undergoing a drastic change. I do not want to narrate all the conversations I had with young persons there. They themselves doubt the validity of the system of marriage. When I asked a young man whether he was married he said, I have got a steady relationship. I said, what do you mean by steady relationship? He said, marriage is not necessary. He was staying with a girl with the contest of her parents and with the consent of his parents. He said, we want to see for about ten years whether this arrangement would work out well. If at the end of ten years we find that we cannot get along we will separate and I will pick up another steady relationship. So the ideas of marriage themselves are undergoing a drastic change in the western world. Fortunately we have not come to that position here. I would like to remind the House that the position in the so-called Hindu society about 1929 was no different from what it is if I may say so with great respect, in the Islamic world in these days. I quite remember when I was a student in the college if a wife was not able to give birth to a male issue, the man married a second time so that he may have a male child. I am sure the Hon. Minister will bear with me, the phrase used was, he set aside his wife. That was the common languages used, he set aside his wife and acquired a new life. Nobody thought it was a serious matter at that time.

Now, the Child Marriage Bill was brought up by Mr. Harbilas Sharda of renowned memory who was one of the pioneers of social reforms in this country and as a result of it we got some measure of liberation of women in the country who were from that time onwards prevented from being married off at the age of 12. It was a slow process of social reform at that time. Many persons who were orthodox-minded said that Mr. Sharda was wrecking the Indian Society but now forty years later we find that Mr. Harbilas Sharda was a very bold pioneer of social reforms. I feel therefore that we ought to look on this question of bigamous marriages from the standpoint of the happiness of the woman concerned. I have this valuable book of Mr. Tyabji on Muslim Law and I want to mention that it is very clearly laid down that while a man can marry four times a woman cannot

marry four times at the same time. This puts the woman in a position of definite inferiority. These are days when man and woman are equal in every sense of the term. We do not want woman to be placed in an inferior position as far as man is concerned. There is also the fundamental right of equality proclaimed in our Constitution and we cannot have this discrimination. The question here is, if we want to enforce a common civil code should we take the community's opinion or not? I personally feel that before introducing a drastic change of this character, this Bill should be circulated for eliciting public opinion. Muslim divines should be invited to give their opinion. Muslim opinion also should be taken on the subject. I am sure a large number of enlightened persons are there in the Muslim community and they will come forward and say that they want a common civil code in this country. They will themselves support the law. Further, it is necessary that we must also have the support of Muslim women whose rights we are seeking to protect in this Bill. I feel that there is a very good and just case for sending this Bill for circulation. Now, once you are going to make bigamous marriages illegal, you also ought to think in terms of liberalised divorce laws. I would like to mention, for the information of the hon. House, that in England there was a number of commissions appointed on the question of divorce. There is an excellent book called "Parliamentary Conscience" written by Mr. Richards, wherein all the attempts to liberalise the divorce law are mentioned. It is mentioned there that desertion for a period of two years is a just cause for securing divorce from the person concerned. We may or may not go to that extent. We have got our social traditions to safeguard. We have got our heritage to look to. We do not want marriages to be broken, but once you start imposing monogamy, you must also have a liberal divorce law. We do not want unhappy homes to exist. Unhappy homes will exist if there are broken marriages. We do not want that. This matter has to be looked into from the point of view of liberalised divorce laws and I feel that this Bill should be circulated for eliciting public opinion. My Hon. friend, Mr. Sri. Rama Reddy, would not like to have a vote at this time of the House. He would like to pursue this matter because it is necessary that we do not have any privileged community in this country with regard to the civil code. We are all equal. We are a secular country. We must be secular also in our civil code. We

do not want special privileges to be given to one community which are denied to another community just because they belong to another community. I think it is a very praise-worthy attempt to have a common civil code. I hope that at the proper time the hon. Mover would accept the motion for circulation, so that this is published and we may have the benefit of the views of the Muslim community and particularly of the women of the Muslim community on this very important Bill which seeks to protect and safeguard their rights.

**THE VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI A.D. MANI):** The House will resume consideration of the Prohibition of Bigamous Marriages Bill 1967. Mr. D.P. Singh.

**SHRI. D.P. SINGH (Bihar):** Mr. Vice Chairman, this Bill has salutary provisions, and in view of the provision in the Constitution article 14 to which I advert—there could really be no objection to the Bill in principle, because the distinction which is sought to be made here and the justification so far making a distinction, for making a distinctive provision for a certain class—and in other words, for making an exception to the applicability of this provision in the Indian Penal Code - has been on the ground of a reasonable classification. That is a classification based on religion. A particular community is supposed to have been authorised by religion to have bigamous marriages or many two or three or four times with impunity. Mr. Vice Chairman, it is difficult to appreciate in principle the reasonableness of such a classification because where classes of people are sought to be exempted on this basis such a provision in the modern times, from every standards, from every principle and approach is not only unreasonable - that would be putting it very mildly - but it is the very remnant of a primitive society which does not take the sentiments, the hopes and aspirations of the people concerned into account.

Mr. Vice-Chairman, when we are considering the reasonable aspect of it and the fact that it is sought to be authorised by the religious tenets of a particular community, probably the basic fact that has been always overlooked is this. The approach is from the man's point of view, never has the woman's point of view been taken into consideration. It could

never be sought to be put forward that the women who are counted for the purpose of classification would ever like to be subjected to the brutalities of co-wives and to sharing their husbands.

The opposite idea would be so abhorrent. Mr. Vice-Chairman, you know pistols have been taken out and everyday murders, suicides take place as a result of these incompatible marriages or situation arising in happy homes which disturb the peace. In this situation, I submit that the provision is salutary and the sooner the provision in the Indian penal Code making a distinction or making an exception in the case of a particular class of community is removed the better because that very moment we will conform to the principle of a uniform Code which is one of the directive principles in our Constitution.

"Article 44 of the Constitution enjoins upon the State to secure for the citizens of India uniform civil code. The marriage laws as enacted so far are not made universally applicable. It is essential in the interest of social justice that all disparities and discriminations in this behalf should be removed".

"The State shall strive to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting as effectively as it may a social order in which justice, social, economic and political, shall inform all the institutions of the national life".

"All right-thinking Muslims recognise the need to change the social laws in accordance with the needs of the time. Yet the psychological atmosphere for the acceptance of this legislation has to be created".

"The fact that Muslim countries like Syria, Iraq and even Pakistan have come with changes in Muslim personal laws should inspire progressive Muslims in India in their struggle for reform. The Social customs and practices change from age to age according to needs of time have to be seen as ephemeral and distinct from the basic eternal values of religion".

"The Editorial of the Hindustan Times of 7.5.70 says: "The need to enable the Muslim community to free itself from the

many inequalities of traditional law and secure the more liberal dispensation that now governs other communities in the matters of marriages, divorce and inheritance is evident.

"While the liberal urge behind this sentiment is laudable, it has been clear for some time that a Muslim demand for modernising their legal system is growing. The demand, it is true, has come mainly from the Muslim urban intelligentsia, but there have been welcome reports of Muslim women, principal victims of the prevalent system, joining it. The reformers may still be small in number, but they constitute a vital and articulate enough group to lend powerful support to the campaign for reforms".

"There would be pressures on the Government by the organisations of Maulvis and Mullahs. In warding off such pressures, the Government would do well to remember that even the Muslim States including Pakistan, Iran, Syria and Iraq, whose citizens have for long enjoyed all the benefits of reformed laws, have to overcome the determined opposition from the Mullahs".

"The Muslim laws regarding polygamy and divorce by Talaq call for immediate reform since they are not merely different from the Hindu and Christian laws regarding marriage and divorce, but are anti-social and even cruel to a degree".

In his book, "Friends, Not Master", written by Ayub Khan when he was the president of Pakistan, he says:

"A Muslim is allowed to have more than one wife by Islam under certain conditions and commented that this permission has been used to practice indiscriminate polygamy causing immense misery to innumerable tongue-tied women and innocent children".

"Thousands of families have been ruined because of the degenerate manner in which men have misused this permission to suit their convenience". In order to make the law of Pakistan truly 'Islamic', he appointed a commission, headed by a former Muslim Chief Justice of Pakistan, to examine the Muslim personal laws and suggest the needed reforms. On its

recommendations, he enacted the Muslim Family Law Ordinance in 1961 in order to eliminate grave social malpractices. He faced fierce opposition from some Muslim ulemas who accused him of interfering with the divine laws of Islam and even re-writing the holy Koran. He was, however, rewarded by the acceptance of his reforms by the generality of Muslims in Pakistan.

"Before he can marry a second wife he must get the previous permission in writing of the Arbitration Council as provided by section 6 of the Ordinance. The Arbitration Council shall not give permission unless it is satisfied that the proposed second marriage of the husband is necessary and just, and it may impose such conditions, as it may deem fit before granting such permission to the husband. In deciding any application for permission to marry a second wife, the Arbitration Council shall record its reasons for such decision. An appeal has been provided to the Collector in West Pakistan and to the sub-divisional officer in East Pakistan - Now Bangla Desh - from the decision of the Arbitration Council and the decision has been made final and cannot be called in question in any court".

Prof-Bashir Hussain of the Govt. Law College, Bangalore, said that even more 'cruel' to Muslim women than polygamy was the Muslim law of Divorce by 'Talaq' at the absolute discretion of their husbands. While President Ayub Khan amended the Muslim Family Law, the proposal of the Govt. of India to appoint a committee consisting entirely of Muslims, merely to enquire if any changes in the family law of Muslims in India were needed was opposed by some very eminent and highly educated Indian Muslims who were not orthodox ulemas.

Mr. Hidayatullah, ex-Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, said while nothing that Muslims believed in the divine origin of the Quran and hence unamendable by human agency, also said that fortunately the desire for reform proved stronger than resistance to it in several Muslim countries such as Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Syria and even Pakistan and expressed the hope that the same would happen to India also..

Prof-Bashir Hussain pointed out that Turkey had replaced the Muslim Law by the Swiss Code. The changes were made,

he said, to 'protect Muslim women from the cruelty of their husbands and he wondered if the Muslims in other countries were less loyal to the Koran than Indian Muslims. He even blamed the Government and non-Muslims in India for having neglected to protect Muslim women in India while improving the personal laws of the Hindus.

"If a Muslim lady refuses to cohabit with her husband she can be chastised and scourged. If she is found guilty of adultery, she should be stoned to death".

"Muslim women in India will be less than human, if out of loyalty to the Muslim Family Law, they welcomed such *inhuman*, socially barbaric and unilateral punishments inflicted by their husbands. Happily such punishments have been prohibited by the Indian penal laws in supersession of Muslim personal laws".

Prof. A.A. Fyzee, an eminent authority on Muslim law, asserted that polygamy was not a Fundamental Right of Indian Muslims and that its prohibition would not violate Article 25 of the Indian Constitution. Mr. A.G. Noorani, another authority on Muslim Law, said that if Indian Muslims resisted reform of Muslim personal laws, they would exhibit, not courage, but moral cowardice. Nobody with a spark of humanity and compassion can view with equanimity or condone, much less defend such a cruel and *inhuman* a system.

"Nobody, Muslim or other, with a human heart who reads the painful testimony of Mr. Ayub Khan about the miserable and degrading condition to which Muslim personal laws had reduced thousands of innocent Muslim wives and children, can fail to be moved to urgent remedial action. The unenviable status of Muslim women concerns all humanists, both Muslim and non-Muslim, particularly in this age of Human Rights".

SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN : Sir, I had no mind to speak on this Bill, but my esteemed friend, Nawal Kishoreji, and my esteemed friend, Ranarainji referred to me and they wanted to know my views on the subject. I feel that it is a matter on which we should express our opinion with great resistance. At the same time, it is an occasion when we should give some sort of

guidance to our people. My own view is that according to Muslim law as I interpret it normally one cannot marry more than one....

But I do accept that the custom is such and the general impression is such that it is normal to marry four. Apart from that in the present context - I am not speaking of the feudal system or anything else - you will find that in a thousand one marries more than one. It may be only in a thousand, but still there are cases where people do marry more than one and because of that I feel that great injustice is being done. My view is that this principle of one marriage should be upheld. For that purpose, as it happens in all social matters, it is our duty primarily and that of other friends to lead this movement. We should educate our people. We should tell them and explain to them that it is not in the interests of their own self or the community or the country. I have no doubt about that. I firmly adhere to the principle that there should be one wife and not more than one wife.

As I have just now mentioned, the interpretation that I give to Muslim personal law is that only one marriage is allowed.

I am coming to that. I certainly think that by educating the people, we can bring them round and they can be changed. I have no doubt about that. A couple of years back, probably when Mr. Chagla was the Leader of the House .....

I just now mentioned that by educating the people we can bring about a change. Certainly, if necessary, the law should be passed. I do not want to get away from that position, but my pre-condition is, let the community be educated. Let them be enlightened.

The ladies will lead this movement. I know their feelings, especially of those who are educated, those who are taking an active part in the social and political life of the country. I would not like my daughter to be given in marriage to a man who has got another wife. I have no doubt about it. Certainly a very serious endeavour should be made to educate people and, if necessary, with the consent and approval of the people the personal law be amended.

This is my view.

With these words, I am in principle in agreement with this move and I feel that an endeavour should be made in this direction. As I was just saying, there was some talk and discussion and a committee was formed so that we could know how things are moving in other eastern countries, African countries, Asiatic countries, and there was an attempt, when prof. Humayan Kabir was there, to collect information and material and data. With that data, we must go. Primarily, it is our duty to explain to the people, to tell them that this is not proper, and injustice to one even in one million cases is injustice, and that should be remedied. I think, Sir, this is a matter in which I would not like the Government to accept it in this way because that will not help them nor will it help the purpose for which this thing is proposed. But certainly certain efforts should be made in this direction, in this way, that about the people who are concerned, there must be a programme, and with that programme this effort should be made, with the consensus and convincing of those people whom this law affects, and this law should be amended or changed, as the case may be.

As some friends, said, not only in Pakistan but I think in many other countries also this has been modified. My friend, Mr. Schammed, was also of the view that there are conditions and those conditions are not being fulfilled. But so far as the amendment of the law is concerned, we must take it up. Even suppose that Pakistan had not done it. But if we consider it right, we should educate our people and take up that measure. I mean, we have to consider it. We can take help from what is happening in other countries; the growing, modern, progressive countries, they have adopted this. And we should adopt it. It is only in that condition that the society can grow, that the society can lead and the country can progress. So from this point of view, let us see what is happening, and responsibility rests on our shoulders. And we should collect this information, take up the matter, go to the people and educate them; go to the Universities, educate our young men, go to the other forums and explain to them that in the greater interests of the community and the country, this is a matter which should receive further consideration. For instance, according to certain interpretations,

when a son or a daughter dies in the life-time of the parents, the children are disinherited, they cannot step into their shoes. I know of some cases where the parents left good wealth, lot of property. There were three sons to inherit the property. But one of them predeceased his children and the children did not get anything. I can tell you, Sir, in the old Hyderabad State, through a firman, in connection with grants and jagirs the Nizam modified this law. In the Hijbo and Hirman law also, the law normally depriving the children of the deceased son or daughter, has been modified. So there is nothing new here.

Similarly, in social matters many changes were brought about through firmans. For example, on the occasion of Iduzzuha the sacrifice of cow was forbidden. So there are cases where these matters have been taken up.

Similarly, the question of talaq should also be considered, though strictly according to Muslim law talaqis are not permitted normally. But things have grown like that the husband takes advantage of it. Though it may be one in thousands, still it is injustice since the husband has got comparatively a very easy way to get rid of the wife. So these are matters which we should not consider, we should not try to understand in a limited way, in a way which is not at all possible to reconsider. I feel even my community will grow stronger, things will greatly improve and the position will be much better if some of these reforms are taken up, propaganda is made and a certain organisation takes up this matter and goes to the people and educates them. I think it is certainly an occasion when we can, if necessary, bring amendments with the approval and consensus of those concerned. And in this way, I have no doubt, an opinion will be created. Mr. Sri. Rama Reddy did a good thing in bringing this motion. The thing has been considered and it gave an opportunity to all of us to express our views. It is a matter over which, I feel, Sir, a serious thought and follow-up is necessary. I thank you.

#### **SHRI PRANAB KUMAR MUKHERJEE (WEST BENGAL) :**

Sir, I support this Bill because the Bill tries to do away with some of the anomalies in the Indian Constitution. Again, it tries to wipe out the evil in the society. But I have a doubt in my mind

whether by just passing a legislation to this effect any desired social change can be brought about. It has been pointed out very rightly by Mr. Akbar Khan that until we educate the society at large ....

Until we give them education in a real social perceptive, by merely passing a legislation I think the desired social reform can never be brought about. It has to be remembered, Sir, when Mr. Nawal Kishore was talking of the Hindu Code Bill as passed in 1955, he himself admitted that long before 1955 there was a debate in the society for a change.

From Rammohan Roy as early as 1773 down to Mahatma Gandhi there were serious efforts, including some by some of the pioneers of Indian renaissance, who thought of not only the economic aspect and the political aspect of the society, and thus a background was set for the Hindu Code Bill. Unfortunately, for some reason or the other - I do not place any blame on anybody - social reforms in the Muslim community have not taken such dimensions. It is correct, as pointed by Mr. Nawal Kishore, that Badruddin Tyabji made some efforts. Now only that, if I remember correctly in 1905 Salimullah, then Nawab of Decca, called all the sections of the Muslim community in an educational conference in Dacca. Practically that formed the genesis of Muslim League politics in India. There revision of canon laws, revision of personal laws and the need to bring about certain radical social changes in the Muslim community were discussed. But for some reason or the other, that social reform was not given the expected direction and perspective, as a result of which even now, not only in India but also in Pakistan no popular movement against social injustices has come up. In this connection, I can mention one instance by which we can understand how a large section of the Muslim community is still apathetic towards this problem. Perhaps you remember, Mr. Vice-Chairman, that Mohammed Ali, who was the Prime Minister of Pakistan immediately after Nizamuddin, married his stenographer. Naturally, his first wife protested and a women's conference or an organisation like that in Karachi held a demonstration. But unfortunately that demonstration was ridiculed by the people at large. It happened. We may like it or not, but it happened. Therefore,

the first prerequisite for getting this social injustice undone is widespread education.

I have no quarrel with the main object of the Bill. I welcome it. There should be one uniform civil code for the whole of the population. But it has to be remembered, at the same time, that the Indian population is not a composite one. Had it been so, it would have been better. But the fact is that it is not a composite one. Indian unity basically lies in diversity and the diversity is in various forms, in religion, in custom, in language, in day-to-day practices and norms of life. Therefore, in view of that, how can we expect that by merely passing a legislation to this effect, a social change can be brought and social injustices removed?

Secondly, Mr. Vice-Chairman, on a previous occasion, when we were discussing a marriage Bill- the Bill introduced by Mr. R.P. Khaitan for placing an age limit between the spouses-it was pointed out that marriage is a reflection of the society as such. We cannot ignore it. What is happening nowadays in our society? Is there any free choice between man and woman? Is there any scope for free choice between the man and woman? In the socio-economic conditions in which we are living to-day, is there any choice, any option? We are burdened, heavily burdened, under the existing socio-economic structure and the worst victim of this socio-economic structure is the woman, for they have to depend on their men, their husbands.

Even nowadays whatever we may say that women's emancipation has came about, our Prime Minister may be an elegant lady, some of the elegant ladies of the country may have occupied high positions, the fact remains that basically our society is dominated by the male being; that being so, how can we talk of women's emancipation? How can we talk of giving full liberty, full rights, full authorities, to women. Mr. Rajnarain was talking of the matriarchal society. He was mentioning some of the elegant ladies of ancient India. I admit it. But it has to be remembered that in those days for their livelihood, for earning their meals, for earning their bread, they had not to depend on the male beings only. They were independent. Therefore, until and unless you create objective conditions where one is not to depend or keeping one's body and soul together on someone else, you cannot talk of bringing equality between man and

woman, you cannot think of wiping out all the social injustices, by merely passing a resolution. Therefore, though I am supporting this Bill, though I am in full sympathy with the desire of the mover of this Bill, yet I have my doubts whether this Bill can bring the expected results. However, the Government should encourage this Bill in another aspect. Our Government is spending a lot of money on the control of population. Control of population is a very vital economic factor. We may or may not like it, but the fact is that our plans depend much on how effectively we can control our population. That is an important factor. Perhaps this Bill may help the Government in that aspect. The Minister in charge of Health and Family Planning should feel encouraged and should be thankful to the mover of this Bill for bringing such a measure. If there is one uniform code, if there is one legal provision that nobody can marry more than one man or woman, then I think the purpose may be served, the purpose and aims of the Minister in charge of Health and Family Planning may be served to some extent. But if the mover of the Bill thinks that by bringing this Bill he can bring about women's emancipation, that he can wipe out social injustices, I think he is wrong, his desire may not be fulfilled. Therefore I am giving my conditional support to this Bill, particularly in view of what Mr. Akbar Ali Khan has stated. Let objective conditions be created, let the people be educated, let there be an urge in the community itself, and then you can bring this Bill. Before that you cannot do it. You cannot put the cart before the horse. Let the people be mentally prepared for it. Let the necessary social and economic conditions be created for it. Let the people have progressive ideas infused in them. Then and then alone can a progressive legislation have its desired effect. Thank you.

#### **SHRI BAHARUL ISLAM (Assam):**

Sir I am thankful to you for giving me this opportunity to give my opinion on this Bill. Our Constitution has enshrined at least one thing, individual dignity. Under the Constitution if a woman cannot marry more than one man, why should a man be allowed to marry more than one woman? The question arises very naturally. Therefore, in principle this Bill is a very nice one and I welcome it. But I cannot support it because the Bill is unnecessary and useless at the present juncture. Some of the

speeches made by the supporters of the Bill have created an impression as if Muslims can and do marry as many as four wives. Under the Mohammedan Law a Muslim is only permitted to marry not more than four wives under certain conditions. A Muslim can marry one wife. He can marry a second wife if his first wife does not bear children or if she is invalid. Similarly, if the first two wives are invalid or do not bear children, he can marry a third wife and similarly a fourth. Therefore, one wife, under the Muslim Law, is the rule and marriage of more than one wife and not more than four wives is an exception.

#### **THE MINISTER OF LAW AND JUSTICE (SHRI. H.R. GOKHALE):**

Sir, this Bill moved by Shri. N. Sri. Rama Reddy has been discussed in this House on two previous occasions and I have very carefully gone into the discussion, and I must say that the discussion was very interesting and helpful. While most Members agree that the spirit underlying the Bill is very laudable, many of them also agree that legislation of this nature is not the proper way to bring about a certain change in the personal law affecting some communities. In fact, when we analyse the various minorities which are governed by laws relating to marriage and divorce, apart from the Hindus in whose case bigamous marriages have already been prohibited, even the other communities excepting the Muslims have this law. For example, under the relevant Act applicable to the Parsis, bigamous marriages are prohibited among them. Then where marriages take place under the Special Marriage Act, there also bigamous marriage is prohibited. So far as the law regarding Christians also is concerned, monogamy is favoured; bigamy is not looked upon with favour and is prohibited under the law. Even with regard to the small minorities in India courts have noted the fact that generally speaking they are monogamous and not bigamous. The result of this analysis is that virtually the Bill, though widely worded in fact applied in practice only to one minority, that is, the Muslims.

Now, the law applicable to the Muslim minority is the personal law, which is the Mohammedan Law, and the question arises whether by legislation a change can be brought about or should be brought about in that which is in existence and is

applicable to the community of Muslims. I must at the same time make it clear that it is only theoretical because there were noted Muslim Jurists like Mr. Abdul Rahim, who spoke on the principle of Mohammedan jurisprudence which was part of the Tagore Law Lecture Series here in India, stated that the Mohammedan law undoubtedly contemplates monogamy as an ideal to be aimed at, but conceded to a man the right to have more than one wife, not exceeding four at one and the same time provided he is able to deal with them on a footing of equality and justice. The vast majority of Muslims do not adhere to this ideal in practice. Therefore, while theoretically it is true that enabling the Muslims to marry four wives may not be in the spirit of the legislation. Still in practice the impression which is created now is as if most of them marry four wives. That is not correct.

What I am emphasising is that in practice this is only theoretical. Most Muslims do not marry more than one wife. What I would request the House to consider is that in a matter where you are affecting a personal law the Government has already looked upon such a measure from one important point of view. The urge for such a social change must come from the bottom. The urge must come from the community itself, which is likely to be affected by such a measure, and I must say with confidence that the urge is growing very fast looking at the speeches which were delivered in this House by Members belonging to the Muslim minority. Every one agreed with the spirit of the Bill. Every one said that so far as the community is concerned, the urge is growing. Therefore, it is wrong, when particularly you are dealing with the personal law of the minorities, for the majority to impose a social change like this on them. These are particular considerations which weighed with the Government. We are aware of the fact that we have also to play a role in building up a certain opinion in the minority community itself. The Government does not want to disclaim that responsibility. The Government will at the proper time take measures to elicit opinion from the minority to build up an opinion in favour of progressive change in the Muslim law affecting the Muslim personal law of the Muslims. But that is not the same thing because the law is regarded by the Muslims as the law handed down by the prophet. Therefore, not only you do something in respect of the Muslim community, but indirectly, as

at least Muslims believe, you are interfering in the religious belief of the minority here. I would, therefore, urge the hon. Member who has moved the Bill to withdraw it. I am very sorry to say that if I am not successful in persuading him, I may have to oppose the Bill.

### **SHRI AKBAR ALI KHAN (A.P.) :**

I may also mention that if statistics are collected, you will find, Mr. Sri Rama Reddy, that perhaps in thousands there may be one such case and that also a very unhappy case.

### **SHRI.N.SRI RAMA REDDY (MYSORE) :**

Mr. Deputy Chairman, Sir, I am rather surprised that the Hon. Minister, having conceded the social practices obtaining today in the Muslim community, the economic necessities that are prevailing in the community and the various things that are observed in the Muslim community, still thinks that the law appropriate for it need not be enacted in this country. This is rather surprising, Sir, a Government which is not prepared to act in tune with the times, I do not know what to call it. I think there must be some other motive behind the Government's plea that this is not the appropriate time for enacting the necessary law even though they concede that everything conceivable in favouring such a legislation.

Sir, only on the 21st of this month, in the Hindustan Times, some muslim women have complained about their status in this country which they say is less than that of a normal human being. It is not I who complain in this manner. It is Muslim women, very highly educated, very well placed women who have made this complaint. Please permit me to read this out, published under the "Letter to the Editor" column.

"Twenty five years after Independence, Muslim women have been almost totally kept out of the process of modernisation and equality, social, economic and religious. The Hindu Code of 1956 gave equal rights to Hindu women in matter of marriage, divorce and inheritance. It is true that not all the problems of Hindu women have been solved. But a first step has been taken through the passage of the Hindu Code to give

them a position of equality with men in all spheres of life. However, Muslim women still do not enjoy a position of security and self-respect in our society".

It goes on to say,

"A Muslim woman can be divorced by her husband by merely pronouncing 'Talaq' three times without giving any reason or even providing for her maintenance beyond a brief period of three months. A Muslim man can have four wives, but a Muslim woman who is so aggrieved cannot even secure divorce without the consent of the husband. Even in the matter of inheritance, she is entitled to only half the share of the brother. On the death of her husband, if she has children, she can inherit only one-eighth of the property. Even if there are no children, she cannot get more than one-fourth of her deceased husband's property. etc."

And not only that, in several Muslim countries, the law has been changed. I have collected information about various Muslim countries. In Pakistan, the Muslim Law Ordinance of March 2, 1961, interdicts plural marriage and among other things, sets out that no man during the subsistence of an existing marriage shall, save with the previous permission in writing of the Arbitration Council comprising an official chairman and a representative from both parties, enter into another wedlock. A violation of this provision is vested with imprisonment, extending upto one year or with a fine upto Rs.5,000/- or with both.

Again, in Syria the law empowers the Judges to refuse according permission to contact a marriage if it is found that the person desiring such marriage is incapable of supporting a second wife.

In Morocco, if polygamy brings with it the wonted discrimination between wives, financial not excluded, such a marriage is prohibited.

In Iraq, like Syria, the Judge is invested with enormous powers to refuse permission to a person to have more than one woman without his express approval. The Judge, however, can

grant permission, if he is satisfied that the husband is financially sound to support more than one wife and there is genuine advantage from the second wife. Any transgression of these provisions is vested with imprisonment ranging from one year to a fine up to 100 dinars.

Similar instances can be cited from laws of Tunisia and Iran but it will suffice to mention that even Muslim countries with large population of Muslims, do not view polygamy with favour.

Now this woman complains that the only reason for the Government for not doing justice to the muslim women is that they want to get the votes of Muslims. "You are anxious to get their votes. That is why you are not interested in codifying the marriage laws of Muslims", she says.

**SHRI CM MEHTA : That is not correct.**

**SHRI N.SRI RAMA REDDY :** Do not be angry. This woman has written so. I do not read it because I wanted to save the time of the House. This is the complaint of this woman.

**SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : (U.P.)** Could it be possible for the hon. Minister to extend the Pakistani law to India ?

If that is done, our Muslim friends will not object because after all Pakistanis are Muslims.

**SHRI.N. SRI RAMA REDDY :** If the hon. Minister is prepared to accept the suggestion of my respected friend Shri Tyagi, I am prepared to withdraw my Bill.

In my opening speech I had dealt with the law obtaining in Pakistan. I do not want to go back. Of course, the hon. Minister is very ware of the situation prevailing in all Muslim countries. He is an eminent jurist.

**SHRI OM MEHTA :** I will still request him not to press. Are you pressing?

**SHRI N.SR. RAMA REDDY :** Let us see what assurance the Minister is giving.

SHRI H.R.GOKHALE : I give no assurance. As I said, in matters like these there is a fundamental difference between majority community as in India doing something in respect of the minority. That is why I am saying that particularly when we are dealing with the minority community, it should not be given the appearance of the majority foisting their view on the minority. The same position does not apply in Pakistan....

SHRI LOKANATH MISRA (Orissa) : What are you doing in the case of 25th amendment of the Constitution? What did you do in the case of 24th amendment? Was it not something imposed by the majority on the minority? 500 rulers were being dealt with.

Sir, howsoever the Law Minister might have been in other walks of life-he has been a very successful ex-judge and he has been a very successful lawyer - but....

SHRI MAHAVIR TYAGI : Sir, I think the hon. Minister could keep my suggestion for consideration and in the meantime, the Bill may be withdrawn.

SHRI H.R. GOKHALE : Sir, I said that our minds are open and we will take note of whatever happens in other countries of the world. But we are not saying that we will not consider what is happening in Pakistan.

SHRI. N. SRI RAMA REDDY : Sir, in addition, the Directive Principles make it mandatory to bring about uniformity in the law of marriage.

Sir, it is mandatory on the part of the Government to bring about uniformity in civil marriages. The Directive Principles are there. Sir, I do not know why, swearing as we do by the Constitution and in parliament to carry on the governance of the country according to the Constitution, we should shirk it unless it be with an ulterior motive of satisfying the sentiments, catching the sentiments to obtain.

SHRI. B.V. abdulla koya (Kerala) : Yes, you have an ulterior motive. That is what, I fear. We have got enough experience of you people. We have got enough experience.

SHRI.N. SRI RAMA REDDY :Sir, it is the Constitution which says so. I was not even a politician at the time the Constitution was made. Anyway, I need not answer my friends. Now, it gives rise to suspicion with regard to the motives of the Government. Therefore, it is better that he considers his views in the matters and takes it up courageously and brings the Civil Marriage Bill as they have dealt with the Constitution several times, nearly 24 items and the 25th Amendment is in the offing. Therefore, Sir, let him not give room for suspicions with regard to the motives of the Government. Even here it has been mentioned that it has been the motive of the Government to obtain the votes of the Muslims.

It is mentioned here in this paper. These are not my views. It is the view of the Muslim women. It is there before the country and the country will judge you. That is all what I can say, Sir, and I cannot more forcefully argue because I have got neither that much of judicial knowledge nor enough vocabulary at my command to plead with the Government except to say that they must come forward with the suitable law without fear or favour, because this country has got to be ruled according to the Constitution. Thank you, Sir.



## FAREWELL TO PARLIAMENT

It is the usual practice in the Parliament's Rajya Sabha that the retiring members at the end of their term of six years are given farewell. In keeping with this practice a farewell party was arranged to the retiring members on the 30th March 1972 and the author was one such retiring member.

The sponsors of the party came to the author and extended their invitation to this party to be held that evening in the Parliament House. The author requested them to include him in the list of speakers on the occasion. The sponsors pleaded their inability to do so as the practice was to select one for every party to speak. Since such persons are already selected they would be unable to include the author's name.

In invitees met under the Chairmanship of the Chairman of the Rajya Sabha Sri. Pathak at 6 p.m. in the Parliament House. The Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi was one of the distinguished invitees. Speaker after speaker paid glorious tributes to the Parliament and some of them narrated their distinctive work done in the Parliament. The Chairman paid warm tributes to the retiring members and exhorted them to do their service to the country each according to his capacity even after retiring from the Rajya Sabha. At the end thanks were offered to the Chairman, Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi and other assembled members. What was very surprising at this stage was the Prime Minister Smt. Indira Gandhi called the author by name and said, "Mr. Sri. Rama Reddy, would you like to say something?" The author replied, "Madam, the meeting is concluded, the procedural thanks giving has also been done. And thus the meeting is over. What could I Say?" The Prime Minister with her usual smile said, "Does not matter. This is a formal meeting. Please come here and have your say."

The author was flabbergasted though, was happy and proud that he was called to speak by so high a person as Smt. Indiraji. At this stage the author does not remember what he said but he remembers there was a big applause. However he said, "Parliament is the greatest institution protecting, preserving and defending the constitution of the country. May this Parliament live to eternity".

With this the author bade good-bye to the Parliament which he served to the best of his capacity with "Twelve Years in Parliament."

JAI HIND

## ERRATA

Page	Line	Printed as	to be read as
About the author last page	3	sop	stop
-do-	7	as an	as and
Letter from Dairy	1	appreciation	appreciating
-do-	20	what he author	what the author
13	7	on a on a	on a
18	9	thoought	thought
-do-	19	as country	as a country
20	13	ollegues	colleagues
-do-	20	oh their	on their
23	2	bolc	bloc
-do-	3	bolc	bloc
28	5 (from below)	ground ot	ground to
37	5	form	from
46	15	such as	as
49	10	China started	China which started
69	6 (letter)	employees	employs
73	22	coaos	Chaos
75	10	USA will have	USA will be
76	2	Russian's	Russia's
79	2 & 3 from below	World Atom bomb	World through atom bomb
82	15	achieve	achieved
87	8 (from below)	perfuma	perfumo
94	12	should be	should do
102	20	Agriculture	Agricultural
115	23	like	line
120	4 (from below)	out	our
121	9	long	along
122	2	under	utter
126	8	long	along
134	31 & 32	It was..... Kashmir	'omit'

Page	Line	Printed as	to be read as
151	last line	Mr John	Mr. Johnson.
152	1	Sates	States
163	4	away	sway
173	19	Motihatri	Motihari
174	22	out	our
-do-	28	doubtly	doubly.
176	13	Ghotha	Gupta
179	last line	th aid	the aid
182	12	This part	This apart
-do-	14	regard	regard to
		development	development
192	6	question	questioned
199	12	to	no
204	19	important	import
206	1	is a not able	is not able
207	16	in given	is given
208	3	and	are
210	25	rapture	rapture
211	1	flesh	flash
212	13	barrages	barges
-do-	6 (from below)	Bengal Desh	Bangla Desh
218	2 (from below)	basis	basic
219	2	basis	basic
222	24	basis	basic
225	3	even	event
230	last line	out	our
234	1	record it	record its
-do-	9	several obtaining	several Muslim
		with regard to	countries have
		brigamous	
237	14	Not as a National Problem	Not as a Sectorial Problem
239	13 (from below)	Protections	Protection
241	11	it is only	it is not only
242	10	Contest	Consent
-do-	26	new life	new wife
252	5	perceptive	perspective
259	6 (from below)	is very ware	is very aware
263	13	In my	May the











**My Twelve years in Parliament** (1960 - 1972) is a first hand account of the transactions of Parliament during a tense and critical period of our history. It is an eminently adequate and fair report of the activity of the Rajya Sabha and of Mr. Reddy's own contribution to public debate and policy. His intimate association with Prime Ministers, leaders and peoples' representatives, thorough knowledge of events and issues, close acquaintance with original material and his critical but open mind add to the special interest and value of the work. It will be widely welcomed by students of politics and history as well as the general reader.

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